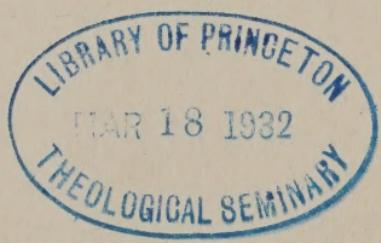


RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Volume 1

Augustine W. Hayes





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RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Longmans' Social Science Series

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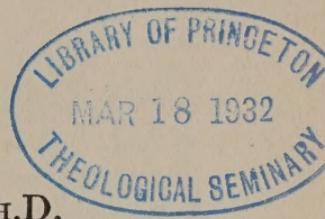
Longmans' Social Science Series

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

BY

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HAYES
RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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PREFACE

THIS volume is intended as a text in the general field of rural sociology to be used by college students and other readers prepared to pursue it with profit. It presupposes at least one semester's work in general sociology in order that the reader may have acquired some skill and training in handling concrete sociological problems, and have oriented himself to the sociological point of view.

The chief aim of the text is to present rural social life not as a separate and distinct entity apart from the larger social life of state and nation, but as a vital part of society. In other words, we have endeavored to see rural life in perspective and so to treat it that all groups may be led to interest themselves in its welfare for the sake of the welfare of society in general. Under such conditions no particular brief is held and no special thesis maintained, save that throughout the materials effort has been made to impress the reader with the necessity of a greater universal interest in and understanding of rural life conditions and needs. Farmers alone are not the only persons who need to become informed on rural sociology; our rural values, contributions, and interests are far too broad and manifest for a narrow understanding and use of them. A course in rural sociology has a place in every department of sociology. Care should be exercised that it is a fundamentally sound course, well interpreted, and skilfully taught.

The Appendix is arranged to stimulate thought and research in the different phases of the subject. The reference materials have been gleaned from wide sources in the hope that most of them would be available to almost every reader.

No excuse is offered for the introduction of this text into

a field which has recently witnessed the addition of several excellent new volumes along similar lines. The feeling is maintained that ours is a rapidly growing subject, and that much remains yet to be said and done before we have approached the saturation point in the way of textual materials. Well-prepared workers are entering the field and are in the process of developing valuable sociological information which needs careful arrangement, correlation, and application from time to time.

I am indebted to my colleagues in the field far beyond my abilities to measure. During the past ten years of research and teaching I have been receiving of their aid and inspiration. I am under special obligation to Dr. C. J. Galpin, my former instructor in the University of Wisconsin and now with the United States Department of Agriculture. He has been a constant source of aid in my early research studies. I wish to acknowledge the assistance rendered by Professor J. F. Thaden of the Michigan State College in connection with the preparation of Chapter IV. Miss Ruth M. Flower, now a graduate student in English in the University of Michigan, read the entire manuscript and offered many helpful suggestions as to the details of arrangement. Professor Ernest R. Groves, editor of the series in which this book appears, has been an invaluable source of aid and encouragement in the preparation of the materials; I am especially indebted to him for his kindly criticisms and useful suggestions.

A. W. H.

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RURAL SOCIOLOGY

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER I

MEANING, SCOPE, AND METHODS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Value of the term.—The term “rural sociology” is of recent origin; it is meeting with uniform acceptance as sociologists themselves arrive at a general understanding of its appropriateness. In the early stages of the development of systematic thought on the social processes of rural life some students took the stand that a special term for such a branch of study was not warranted. This attitude is rapidly passing, however, as probings and soundings are made of the large territory to be discovered and developed in treating the sociology of rural life. Students of society are now generally accepting the term as a highly justifiable one uniquely embracing an important field of social life.

The increasing complexity of social structures, together with an awakened consciousness on the part of society of its growing need of direction and control, has called into use one special approach after another to deal directly and effectively with the multiplicities of human relations. Rural sociology is one of these approaches which deals with rural social phenomena.

Definition of rural sociology.—We look upon rural sociology as a most conveniently designated social discipline which has for its specific functions the study and understanding of the social phenomena growing out of rural life affairs. A knowledge of the origins, developments, and manifestations of

these phenomena gives the rural sociologist a working-base upon which to assist in the interpretation and direction of rural society.

Various definitions have been given for rural sociology; in the main, they all recognize the distinctiveness of the field and subject matter.

Professor Gillette emphasizes the community relationships in rural life when he states, "We may think of rural sociology as that branch of sociology which systematically studies rural communities to discover their conditions and tendencies, and to formulate principles of progress."¹ Professor Vogt speaks of forces and conditions and an efficient civilization. He says, "Rural sociology is the study of the forces and conditions of rural life as a basis for constructive action in developing and maintaining a scientifically efficient civilization in the country."² Professor Taylor aims at greater specific application in his definition. He states, "Rural sociology is concerned with the relations of rural people to each other, the relations of rural people to other sections of national and world populations, with rural institutions, with rural standard of living, and with the social problems which attach themselves to life and labor on the farm and in farm communities."³

Definitions at best have only a limited value; to the beginning student they usually fail to leave a sufficient impression to afford him much service in threading his way through a new subject. He may use them, however, to help give direction and singleness of purpose.

Place of rural sociology among social sciences.—Rural sociology takes as distinctive a place among our increasing

¹ Gillette, John M., "Rural Sociology," p. 6, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922.

² Vogt, Paul L., "Introduction to Rural Sociology," p. 15, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1922.

³ Taylor, Carl C., "Rural Sociology," p. 3, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1926.

numbers of specialized branches of social science as do money and credit, labor problems, public utilities, immigration, social psychology, social psychiatry, and many others which might be mentioned.

It bears a close relation to the general field of sociology, because in the end, rural society is but a part of society at large. By common consent, and perhaps for convenience, general sociology is most frequently considered the mother sociological science, whose field is that of developing in a broad way, theories and principles covering the entire range of human relationships. Rural sociology deals in a specific manner with the social phenomena related to country life. Illustrations of some of these phenomena are found in the growth, development, and decadence of rural institutions, in rural educational needs and values, in town and country relations, in rural population movements, in farmers' labor problems, and in social maladjustments in rural districts.

Sociology lays much stress upon group activities and relationships in the social body generally; so it is with rural sociology, which seeks to develop in rural life plans for the removal of undue social isolation, effective group action, better inter-communication and understanding with other groups, higher social ideals, and a breadth of interest in and tolerance of the complex social relations arising in all departments of human affairs.

Functions of rural sociology.—It has just been indicated that rural sociology seeks to ward off tendencies in rural life to develop narrowness of vision and stifling provincialisms. At the same time, it endeavors in a positive way to develop distinctive rural institutions, and to preserve all that is uniquely valuable and serviceable in enriching human experiences in country life.

This new social science helps to develop and to spread a true culture in rural communities. The fundamental values of a more effective and universal culture for farm life in America

are not appreciated at their full worth. Many rural problems today go back to the inadequate ideals or lack of ideals of an appropriate culture. We need in the country (and no doubt fully as much in the city) more real appreciation of the higher planes of human happiness and welfare, better standards for social values, more universal and better defined group techniques, and both personal and social evaluations reflecting the best in national life.

Higher economic returns alone, important as they are, will not secure many of our most necessary social values; they have not in the past, and there is little reason to believe they will do so in the future. Farm leaders themselves have called for and demanded a proper balancing between social and economic factors that country people may come into a better state of general welfare. This thought has been well stated by Dean A. R. Mann of Cornell University as follows:

One of the first obstacles which confronts the sociologist is to clear the path so that the real end may be distinguished from the means for the accomplishment of that end. The besetting sin of a great deal of our present conduct of life is that we are prone to regard as the ends of all our endeavors those things which are merely means to higher ends. We hear it said that the end for which we are working in agriculture is to make farming more productive and more profitable. When we have attained that end, however, we have reached only a way station; the terminal lies beyond, and more prosperous farming becomes the means to enable the farmer to share more largely in the higher enjoyments of civilization. We seek better farming that we may have better farmers; we aspire to greater material resources that we may add to the abundance of human resources.⁴

To the above statements we may add that the peculiar function of rural sociology is to point the way to the ultimate

⁴ Phelan, J., "Readings in Rural Sociology," p. 611. Copyright, 1920, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

ends that Dean Mann says we are seeking. These ends do not evolve of themselves nor develop from a *laissez faire* attitude, but they come only through positive control and direction of human social affairs, and through a marshalling of all forces and agencies to meet the particular needs.

Research and instructional services of rural sociology.—The illuminating studies of recent years in rural standards of life, and in the movements of rural population have shown us that economic success alone is not solving country life problems. It has been found that the social horizons have been kept too low, and that the possibilities of real life-values growing out of the occupation of farming have been left too long undiscovered.

Research, instruction, and leadership are essential services for rural sociology. That there is a growing recognition of these facts is shown by the recent growth in the subject. In the United States there are approximately 600 instructors giving courses in rural sociology to about 20,000 students. Almost every department of sociology in both sectarian and non-sectarian schools, in colleges, universities, and normal schools offers at least one course in the field of rural social problems. Books, pamphlets, and bulletins on rural life are becoming more numerous each year.

In some of our leading agricultural colleges and experiment stations the greatest developments have taken place. At the Michigan Agricultural College twelve separate courses in rural sociology are now offered. Many of the agricultural experiment stations have one or more full-time research workers engaged in investigations of rural life within their respective states. By act of Congress in 1925, new impetus was given to rural social research. At this time the Purnell Act was passed, which grants federal funds to states engaging in research studies of rural social problems. The United States Department of Agriculture has maintained for the past nine years a Division of Rural Life Studies, which has

made some valuable studies both by its own workers and through assistance given co-operating institutions.

The extension departments of universities, colleges, and state departments of agriculture and education are taking a lively interest in rural social problems. Some institutions employ community advisors, community dramatists, recreation leaders, lecturers, and demonstrators who spend most of their time in rural districts. County agricultural agents and home demonstration agents are all giving greater attention than formerly to the social problems of the country.

DIVISIONS AND APPROACHES TO RURAL SOCIOLOGY

The day is almost at hand when we can say of rural sociology as a general field what may be stated of general sociology; namely, that it embraces a number of social disciplines which demand separate study and treatment for their complete development. In response to this growth in the subject we find that some of our colleges and universities (as already noted above in the case of Michigan Agricultural College) have established separate courses of study in this field. Some of these courses are as follows: rural social psychology, rural institutions, rural population problems, comparative rural life, rural community organization, rural recreation, rural welfare work, and town and country relations.

The family as an important approach.—One of the most fundamental approaches to a proper understanding of rural social phenomena is through the farm family. This key institution has not received sufficient sociological investigation and interpretation in our haste to develop seemingly larger fields. The farm family is probably our most typical American family today. Do we know that it will always remain so? What is being done to preserve it, to enrich its experiences and enlarge its opportunities, to ward off forces operating to undermine or destroy its importance? It is the task

of rural sociology to offer constructive leadership on these matters. We need to know more of the effects of different family patterns, and of the subtle influences drifting into the farm family from the city. Our rural institutions all need to have a greater recognition of the peculiar unity characteristic of the rural family, also of woman's essential part in rural social affairs, of her persistent desires for elevating social influences for her family and herself.

Importance of health factors.—No one will doubt the value of good health, both physical and mental, in relation to social life. The country districts have distinct health problems to meet and to solve. Dr. L. L. Lumsden, of the United States Public Health Service says:

Rural health work is directly applicable to over 50,000,000 of our population; and, because of the increased and increasing facilities for traffic, transportation, and travel, it affects the welfare of our city dwellers.⁵

Every year sees gains in urban health over rural health advantages. So rapidly have urban death rates declined, because of improved health facilities, that the cities of some nine states now have a lower death rate than the rural districts of these same states. Our traditional belief that the countryside is inherently a more healthful place than the city has been shocked by the relative gains of the city. The country does possess natural advantages, but these alone are not sufficient to care for the health of the people. Such demonstrations as the control of malaria and hookworm in the South have shown us the tremendous values in the saving of human resources which follow in the wake of improved health facilities for rural districts.

Approaches through institutions.—In educational fields, rural sociology is concerned not so much with the technical

⁵ *Rural America*, March, 1926, p. 3, American Country Life Association, New York.

and administrative problems involved as it is with the social results better educational facilities develop for rural districts. A democracy cannot afford to have any group of citizens laboring under defective and retarding educational conditions. The ability to handle the instruments of social life is of growing importance. Literacy is one of the tests used to assist in rating a person as to his fitness in these respects. The rural districts of the United States show an illiteracy of approximately 7.7 per cent as contrasted with 4.4 per cent for urban districts. It is at once evident that this is too wide a difference to allow social students to feel satisfied with the educational conditions in rural districts.

In the field of rural religion, the decadence of the country church is now nationally proclaimed; almost everyone speaks of it as a fact; yet few are exercising any constructive efforts to know the whys and wherefores or to set the institution aright.

In politics and government the farmer has slipped back considerably from his former relative strength and interest; he has been arousing himself lately along both these lines but finds he is now a novice and handicapped in many ways.

In the field of social service little has been done in rural districts. The maladjustments and unadjustments in city life have been receiving much attention for many years, but the country people know scarcely anything definite about the extent, causes, and treatment of such conditions in rural life. Thus we see that the approach to rural sociology through rural institutions is an important means of reaching some of the most significant social problems of the country.

Philosophies and policies.—Probably no better illustrations of the need of rural policies have ever been known than exist today. What are we working for as a people, almost half of whom are country people or live in small rural centers? What place have we given or are trying to give to agriculture in our national fabric? Do we fully understand the social and

economic consequences which would result from the various categories into which certain of our political and commercial leaders are trying to place agriculture? These and many other allied problems confront us, awaiting constructive handling. Rural sociology must have an important part to play in helping to solve them, because of its relations to ultimate social ends and values.

Rural sociology must help to give to country people, and to society at large, such an understanding of facts and principles bearing upon the important inter-relationships of rural affairs, with affairs in general as will assign to agriculture the place in our social fabric consistent with its true worth and importance. Agriculture, and all other interests, cannot afford in the end to accept anything less.

THE METHODS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

A new science in need of techniques.—The youthfulness of rural sociology endows it with both handicaps and advantages. We shall examine some of them in order to learn how they have retarded or aided the development of the subject.

Every science builds up in the course of time techniques of investigation, teaching, and general procedure which better enable it to function and attain its true aims and purposes. Aims and purposes, in fact, as well as techniques, undergo a general evolutionary development, better enabling the science to serve contemporaneous life in each successive stage of progress. A body of facts, social tools, methods of approach, processes of induction and deduction, together with approved aims and ideals, come to characterize each science. Rural sociology is not unlike other sciences in these respects. As indicated above, however, it is not full-fledged and mature in all of its departments, but it is in the early stages of policy formation and technique development. Such a state necessarily calls for wise direction, deliberate judgment, and well-

grounded aims. What methods it shall employ in ascertaining and in presenting its truths and principles becomes a highly pertinent question demanding careful attention.

Early problems in understanding the field.—One of the early handicaps rural sociology has met in some quarters is the feeling, or belief, that the field it seeks to cover is relatively so simple and clear that casual observations and inspiration are adequate means of developing it. Quite different from the methods that would be sanctioned for use in a subject like soil chemistry or animal nutrition, by way of illustration, some individuals have been prone to act on the assumption that breadth of training, painstaking fact-finding and classification, together with an abiding soundness of judgment, are non-essential, especially in the face of certain sentimentalities, early youth experiences, or pet, cursory observations.

In short, there has been a proneness in some quarters to consider the material with which rural sociologists deal of insufficient magnitude and consequence to lend itself to the scientific method; as a result of such conceptions, there has been much of the "snap-judgment" type of work injected into the rural social field. Considerable of the teaching and literature have been clouded and "befuddled" by personal beliefs, sporadic investigations, and grossly biased opinions. Unfortunately, in some areas these things carry weight of a degree wholly out of proportion to their importance. When each individual feels free to draw his own picture, making it as pathologically sordid, or as glittering and attractive as his particular bent may dictate, nothing but an unwieldy heterogeneity of notions and experiences can result.

It was indicated at the beginning of the chapter that some students of social phenomena felt that the materials to be covered by rural sociology were too meager to warrant the employment of a new social discipline. The tendency was to absorb the materials through general sociology, agricultural economics, and rural education. This sort of feeling has been

typical of many new branches of research and study. The fruitless controversies of unprepared workers in a new field often add weight to attitudes of doubt about its place and value—such has been the case with rural sociology. Bias and lack of understanding do not need to prove permanently injurious to a worthy cause; instead, a challenge may grow up which places thoughtful workers more on their mettle in the cultivation of their field in a truly scientific manner.

Aids from allied social sciences.—In contrast to certain retarding influences, rural sociology has been favored and aided by the developments made by many of its sister social sciences. Their methods and findings have proved of assistance in helping to define and approach the field. In general sociology and in social psychology the procedures for the analysis of group phenomena are helpful in rural social studies. Economics, and especially agricultural economics, has given valuable assistance through income, farm management, and farm labor studies, through surveys, and demonstrations. Standard-of-living studies, engaged in jointly by economists and sociologists, have been productive of great aid in the interpretation of both economic and social factors.

The more recent development of the field of individual psychology holds much promise in aiding rural sociology in interpreting personal and individual phenomena among farmers. History is accepting more and more the role of aiding sociology in the interpretation of concrete events of time and place. Every historical fact has back of it some social factor.

The point of view in methods.—In establishing methods of dealing with rural social phenomena, rural sociology seeks to proceed in a direct and effective manner. As Professor Giddings so well states:

The scientific study of any subject is a substitution of business-like ways of "making sure" about it for the lazy habit of "taking it for granted" and the worse habit of making irresponsible asser-

tions about it. To make sure, it is necessary to have done with a careless "looking into it" and to undertake precise observations, many times repeated. It is necessary to make measurements and accountings, to substitute realistic thinking (an honest dealing with facts as they are) for wishful or fanciful or other self-deceiving thinking and to carry on a systematic "checking up." At every step we must make sure that the methods which we use and rely on have been accredited by exhaustive criticism and trial, and are applicable to the investigation in hand.⁶

Of the various methods and approaches used in studying social phenomena, there are four which, when given sufficient scope and breadth, may well serve the rural field. These may briefly be designated the historical, the survey, the case study, and project methods.

Needless to say, they go hand in hand and, with their proper development and execution, may serve to place rural sociology on an equal footing with any other science.

1. The historical method.—Rural sociology needs to acquire a background out of the experiences of men with nature. The farmer as an individual with status, wishes, desires, must be more completely understood. We need to run the threads of personality make-up and of rural social organization back through the history of man in his contact with the soil and in his various forms of rural social life.

Such efforts as Professor N. S. B. Gras has set forth in his "History of Agriculture in Europe and the United States" are essential and, at this time, much needed in building up the social background of rural sociology. We need an abundance of this type of work which hews closely to a sociological interpretation of fundamental forces and agencies.

Through the earlier historical and philosophical approaches to the study of human society, general sociology fell heir to much useful background material, which has aided it in mak-

⁶ Giddings, Franklin H., "Scientific Study of Human Society," pp. 41-42, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1924.

ing valuable analyses of present-day social customs, practices, and beliefs. Even in the general field, however, we find an insufficiency of anthropological and sociological materials to give us with completeness the desired connections in the past social life of man.

Value of local historical studies: Besides stimulating work on the past general history of people and the land, the historical method will be immediately useful in developing specific group and local histories. In this connection Professor Bogardus⁷ suggests some sixteen leads or question-guides which may be used in making a community life history. Some of them are as follows: (1) What persons founded the community? Under what circumstances? Whence did they come? (2) What ecological factors operated? (3) What type of newcomers followed the original settlers? (4) What interesting persons have grown up in the community, and how have they taken part in the community's life? What conflicts are in operation between the older and the new generation? (5) What persons have achieved the most prominence in the community's life? What are their life histories? (6) What schools have developed in the community? (7) What have been the origin, growth and changes in other organized activities such as the church, recreation, newspapers, businesses; also the records of crimes, delinquencies, gangs, feuds, animosities, and revolts? In closing his suggestions, Professor Bogardus would bring out the particulars in which the community has not changed and why; the changes in the family life of the community, and what new activities any considerable number of people are developing.

A general stimulation of historical pageantry in rural areas should be fruitful of stores of information concerning the life and tendencies of the people. The historical analysis of cus-

⁷ Bogardus, Emory S., *Community Life Histories*, in *Journal of Applied Sociology*, pp. 370-378, March-April, 1927. The University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles, California.

tomary practices and beliefs, of culture patterns, and of thought habits is a valuable adjunct to social interpretations.

2. The survey method.—Contemporaneous problems have been the first to attract the attention of rural life students. This condition grew partly out of the feeling that rural sociology must be practical—not theoretical—and partly out of the fact that certain outstanding problems were facing rural society, clamoring for solution also simultaneously with the birth of the science. Almost immediately, therefore, the social survey grew up as one of the first tools of the rural social investigator. The aims here were to acquire the facts concerning contemporaneous rural life, and to interpret these facts in as practical a way as possible. Roosevelt's Country Life Commission of 1908 was the first comprehensive attempt thus to reach an understanding of the problems of rural life.

Since the Roosevelt Commission Report, surveys of all sorts have been made—good, poor, and indifferent ones—throughout the length and breadth of the land. Out of it all, however, has grown increasing faith in the survey method as a means of ascertaining needed facts, and also an increase in the technique of the survey itself.

Need of more and better surveys: The survey method is a fundamentally important method for rural sociology; it needs greater and more extensive use in this field rather than less use, but above all, it needs greater definiteness of aim and more skilful application. Properly gathered material, scientifically interpreted, may be a most potent force to help lift rural sociology completely out of any snap judgment and pet-observation practices into the factual and scientific sphere.

Incompleteness of survey data: The survey, however, with its collection of valuable data, together with their proper arrangement, classification and soundly based inductions and generalizations, cannot completely interpret even contemporaneous rural social life. The latitudes and ramifications of human wishes, hopes, fears, and aspirations are too complex

and subtle to be confined to any statistical table, diagram, or pictogram yet devised. The historical, philosophical, and psychological backgrounds above referred to are also essential factors. These, painstakingly developed through race history, local, and occupational studies will help to arrive at a more complete understanding of the multiple forces involved.

3. The case study method.—This method is receiving more application in the study of rural social phenomena as its virtues are appreciated in general analyses, and as social work enters more and more into the rural field. The usefulness of the case method, from the sociological point of view, was first developed by the charity organization movement as a valuable means of analyzing and treating human problems chiefly of a social pathological nature. Professor Queen describes the case method as follows:

By this is meant essentially the study and treatment of each individual and family as a unique problem. The effort is made to secure such significant information about family histories, physical and mental condition, habits, education, occupation, attitudes and relations to other people as will make possible a clear definition of the problem to be solved. On the side of treatment it means the utilization of the particular resources available to the individual or family in question in such manner that the difficulty may be removed.⁸

The general plans and ideals of the case method are workable in studying social phenomena other than the pathological. In fact, the range of the case method may include all of the general social phenomena about which society has a concern. For example, there are lessons to be obtained from case studies of successful farmers, neighborhoods, various rural institutions, and communities. Such studies which concentrate upon the subject in hand and bring out the details of environment,

⁸ Queen, S. A., "Social Work in the Light of History," p. 114, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1922.

leadership, handicaps, and successes furnish light and information for others in like or similar situations. Giddings states:

There is always a presumption that a case is, to a certain extent, unique; that nothing exactly like it is to be found elsewhere or has ever appeared before, and it is of the first importance that its exact variation from everything else should be determined; but there is also a presumption that in many respects it is like other cases. If it is, a certain norm, or "usual" complex of factors can be ascertained.⁹

Carefully selected and carefully made case studies of numerous social phenomena in rural life will serve a real purpose in helping the rural sociologists establish standards so that real and helpful comparisons may be available. We are just beginning to develop this field of rural sociology through case studies of rural communities and neighborhoods, churches and schools, farm families and farmers.

4. The project method.—As the name implies, the project method means the projection or extension of a plan of improvement or development. It is uniquely essential in giving actual contact with specific social problems and with rural life processes. It will call for definite project studies in which some single factor or group of allied factors are chosen for extension. A rural recreation project, for example, might be the means of opening up large possibilities for a given group and, at the same time, be a means of rendering much immediate service and enlightenment. The development of boy and girl club projects has brought funds of information concerning juvenile problems in rural life, and has rendered a service in stimulating deeper interest in the farm and home. Rural social service projects, such as delinquency problem studies, poverty problems, and housing and sanitation may all be developed on the project basis.

Along with all of the above methods should go the study

⁹ Giddings, F. H., *op. cit.*, p. 96.

of various statistical reports, population movements, and current periodical material, such as bulletins, country newspapers, and reports of rural institutions and organizations. All of these need analysis, grouping, and correlation in order to help give in detail the complete understanding of complex rural social phenomena.

Is it not clear, therefore, that the methods of rural sociology must be such as will enable the science to enter its field in a way to develop scientifically a complete understanding of behavior patterns of individuals and groups engaged in rural occupations, and to give guidance and direction toward a more perfect attainment of the higher value of life? The forces which operate to give substance and context to this study are as subtle and challenging for studious and properly equipped individuals as any in the various fields of the social sciences.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

Introduction.—This chapter represents an attempt to discuss some of the more important features and phases of early rural social development. A study of this kind seems desirable in order to give the reader an orientation in social and historical backgrounds which will make for a more intelligent understanding of rural life settings and problems. It is also desirable in order that we may review, in brief at least, the great contribution of agriculture to the making of civilization.

We well know that it is largely through a knowledge of what has gone before that we are better able to understand the present and plan for the future. Some have said of history that it never repeats, while others have said that it always repeats. Whether or not either of these sayings is correct is not our concern at this point; we are interested here only in trying to see rural society in retrospect, that we may get a better knowledge of it in relation to other forms of social life, and get a larger appreciation of its fundamental significance.

ORIGINS OF EARLY RURAL LIFE

Primitive beginnings.—It will prove helpful to review some of the phases of the early beginnings of rural society. It has been suggested by some students of primitive life that in the beginnings of human society there was no distinction to be drawn between rural society and urban society, but that all society was rural in the sense of being in close and immediate dependence upon nature. Certainly it seems plain that

urban centers could not develop without a considerable degree of social organization and interdependence of functions among men.

In primitive society, direct appropriation, hunting, and finding characterized economic life. This has been called the hunting, fishing, and finding stage in man's economic development. Social life was meager; blood relationships were the impelling forces holding people together in family, clan, and tribe. There was no private property in land or herds. Feeble notions of the rights of property in these grew up gradually through the defense of hunting grounds against intruding individuals and groups.

One cannot say that agriculture was practiced in the earliest stages of human society. There was too much roaming and moving about from place to place. Nomadic life, however, did at times present practices giving some slight semblances to agriculture. Clans and tribes might follow with their homes their grazing herds from pasture to pasture. These movements have been well illustrated in American primitive life by the examples of certain tribes of mid-continent Indians who followed the buffaloes about over their grazing lands. Also, in the Northwest, by Indian tribes who followed the salmon fish as they moved up and down the Columbia River.

Apparently it was not a long step to take from hunting animals and living within their wake, to taming and domesticating them. These arts were developed gradually, and were begun chiefly in areas where pasturage was abundant. Under a pastoral type of life relatively settled conditions developed from time to time, although men still moved from place to place with their herds and flocks. The patriarchal family gradually came prominently into existence, stimulating private property in animal life and accelerating domestic manufacture.

Rise of agriculture.—By degrees the early people took up the definite cultivation of the soil and a more or less con-

tinued residence in one place. Probably such practices arose because of declining yields of the wild animal and vegetable life, and a growing need of supplementing first-hand productions of nature. Women have been called the first agriculturists.

While man was hunting for game or fighting against his fellows, the woman by the fire, trying to piece out the scanty fare with roots and stems, barks and leaves, which she could find about the home, began the various peaceful industries of life. She was the basket-maker; it was she that devised pottery; she first spun fibre into thread, wove threads into fabrics, cut cloths and skins and made them into clothing; it was she who worked out many of the mechanical trades to practical applications; it was she who began the cultivation of plants; it was she who first tamed animals.¹

Professor Starr here pays a high tribute to the wives of primitive farmers; no doubt he would be justified in paying as high tributes to the wives of modern-day farmers, for they, also, are the farmers' great helpmates.

All through the stages of hunting and fishing, of pastoral, and of early agricultural life, industrial processes grew and developed. Men fashioned implements, made numerous useful and ornamental articles, and in many ways learned better how to control the forces of nature, reduce toil, and increase efficiency and comfort. Slavery was introduced and profitably employed as agriculture was developed. In fact, agriculture gave early societies a chance to develop surpluses, leisure, private property, definite family patterns, and various forms of social and institutional life. We shall see as we proceed how fundamental agricultural processes were to man himself and to his unfolding social order.

¹ Starr, Frederick, "Some First Steps in Human Progress," p. 63, The Chautauqua Assembly, Chautauqua, New York, 1901.

AGRICULTURE AND EARLY SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Social significances of domestication processes and settling-down.—The domestication of wild life, especially of animals, commenced before any regular agricultural production *per se* took place. The pastoral type of life, which has, in the main, preceded agricultural production, was made possible by the domestication of different animals, such as the horse, cow, dog, goat, and sheep. The process of domestication was gradual and drawn-out, as was the process of settling-down to definite agricultural production. The processes reciprocally accelerated each other.

As to the process of settling-down, Professor Gras states:

It occupied, we may safely infer, at least 10,000 years of human effort, and is not yet complete. All tradition and such fragments of early history as we have, indicate that the earliest settlements of historic people took place in Egypt, Babylonia, and China, several thousand years, b.c. The Greeks had already settled when the *Iliad* was composed, perhaps 1000 b.c. The traditional founding of the village which later became Rome was in 753, b.c. The Kelts (progenitors of the Britons, Welsh, and Irish) settled in about the fourth or fifth century, b.c., and from that time on to this, hardly a century has elapsed that has not witnessed the settlement of at least one important people.²

It is now a fairly well established belief that some of the tribes of the American Indians in the eastern part of the United States were in the process of settling down when the colonists commenced building a new civilization here in America. Some of these tribes occupied comparatively permanent villages, and were engaged in considerable cultivation of the soil. Before these people, however, were the Mound Builders of the Central-West, the Pueblos of the Southwest,

² Gras, N. S. B., "History of Agriculture in Europe and America," p. 9, F. S. Crofts and Company, New York, 1925.

and the Mayas of Central America. All of these people had settled abodes and had engaged in agriculture. The Mayas had built extensive canals, and permanent buildings, and evidently had established trade relations with island peoples.

A settled life fostered animal and plant domestication and extended agricultural processes; both gave man an opportunity of better developing himself and his institutions. Thus a great aid was rendered in helping to lift human society out of a nature and primitive state into one of greater social control. The coarseness and crassness of nature man was softened and refined through his dominion over nature.

Fatalism, awe, and wonder mark the attitude of nature man towards the forces of nature. Under his own directive processes he became more socialized and more extensive in his reasoning.

Professor Frederick A. Bushee³ states clearly and interestingly in three main points the social results of the domestication of animals.

1. *Developed individuality:* A social consciousness was awakened and a power of superiority was stirred. The old communal order of the early life became broken and family groups could establish themselves and make their own subsistence; this was typical of the pastoral stage. With separate family groups established and living within themselves, responsibility for the children rested more clearly upon parents than was the case in the communal life. So we might say domestication aided in ushering in the patriarchal family, a strong type of family among early civilizations.

2. *Increased sympathy:* The care and attention of helpless dumb animals drew out man's sympathy which he tended to extend more and more to his fellow-man. The domestic dog is particularly a sympathy-provoking creature; men domesticated the dog probably first of all animals.

³ Bushee, F. A., "Principles of Sociology," pp. 113-115, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1923.

3. *Affected social customs:* Animal sacrifices came to be substituted for human sacrifices with the increased use of domestic animals, hence human life was lifted to a higher plane. Bushee states, "Any increase of the food supply, whether animal or vegetable, not only made cannibalism less urgent but permitted also the retention of captives as slaves";⁴ hence we find slavery growing up by degrees and the slaves put to work tilling the soil and performing other tasks.

Domestication of animals enabled early civilizations to pass those which persisted in the nature state. The Aryans and Semites far outstripped the Slavs, largely because the latter were so backward in taking up agricultural processes. All of the early ancient civilizations made liberal use of domesticated animals and plants.

The patriarchal family.—In most respects the patriarchal family is particularly a rural type of family. It grew up, as indicated above, when the old communal form of life broke down and kinship groups spread out upon their own initiative. Tending herds and flocks required many hands and helpers. The father could well afford to take responsibility for his children that he might have them around him to help with his increasing numbers of possessions. The father would encourage his sons and the husbands of his daughters to remain with him in the conduct of his rural pursuits. We get one of the best views of the patriarchal family as it is mentioned in the Old Testament in connection with Abraham and numerous other biblical characters. The father was the head of the household, which might comprise a long list of children, grand-children, aunts, uncles, and slaves. A patriarchal family would start with a father who would withdraw from the communal order or an enlarged over-grown family, and, together with his children, wife, slaves, and worldly possessions, set up a family of his own. The father was looked to as head and Patriarch, even in death; his will was to be

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 114–115.

executed to the smallest detail; his power and authority were often very extensive and often quite stifling to individual initiative. The possessions were his, save as he chose to grant any to sons, daughters, or other relatives.

Upon the death of the father his power and authority would descend to the next nearest male relative. Under the patriarchal system possessions were held together and perpetuated, early agricultural processes and industries developed, and an intense, though localized and limited, social life fostered. This was a strong and closely woven type of social unity. It was favorable to developing civilizations when law and order had not yet come to rest in delegated authorities. It was so favorable to an early rural life existence that it persisted for centuries throughout the Greek, Roman, and Semitic civilizations. It was a dominant type of family life in England almost up to the eighteenth century. Many general plans of the patriarchal family were brought to America and prevailed among the colonists. Dr. Goodsell states:

The patriarchal idea of family organization was held by all the colonists; but the belief in the sacredness and importance of family government was even more deeply rooted among the Puritans than among their fellow colonists in the South.⁵

We have to reckon seriously with the patriarchal family in considering customs, traditions, and many prevailing practices in present-day rural society. The structure of the rural family today has received subtle direction by this old type of family life which has been so close to the soil for many centuries and in many civilizations.

Rural villages.—As men grew better able to capitalize upon their advantages over nature, they settled in groups or villages close by their flocks and herds and cultivable lands. This initiated the period of village economy. These early vil-

⁵ Goodsell, W., "A History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution," p. 353, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1924.

lages were largely groups of kinsfolk, comprising, in the main, patriarchal families. Their sole occupations related to agricultural pursuits. Villages were the first permanent resident places of the cultivators of the soil. Scattered residence, if thought of, probably was impracticable because of the need of protection and because of the generally prevailing type of family.

The first villages were free in the sense that no king nor powerful political nor economic figure owned the land and exacted tribute from the cultivators. As time went on, however, such persons arose. These early free villages contained persons of different rank, as some individuals owned more flocks, herds, and slaves than others. Under certain conditions some of the slaves were permitted to win freedom, and after so doing, their rank was of a different sort from that of the slaves or the original freemen. Some of the land around the village was planted for cultivated crops, and the herds and flocks were tended by flockmasters on the domain. Women and children were at first the chief cultivators of the soil, and the men the flockmasters and warriors. Later the men assumed more of the responsibilities of plowing and tending the crops, and the women commenced to develop simple village industries.

As time went on and wealth and power accumulated, strong individuals would capture whole villages and hold them in subjection; this gave rise to the manorial type of village, or the unfree village. If the conquering party came to live in the conquered village, he might erect an establishment of his own and become lord of the village. In this case he would establish his own court and government, taking over the developing council form of government which the patriarchs of the various families had been erecting. The manorial village has a long history down through the centuries to the settlement of the colonies in America. It will be discussed in more detail in another section.

Village life was a decided step in advance of nomadic life. Social consciousness was awakened, the absolute political authority of the patriarch was distributed to representatives, storage and preservation of food developed, and industries were stimulated. Cultivation of the soil became more and more a co-operative enterprise in which the individual family had to submerge its wishes to the will of the group.

Town economy.—Towns grew up largely in response to developing wealth and trade of village agriculture. Towns might arise from villages in the process of handling increasing commercial interests, or towns might grow up from the beginning at strategic trading points, such as at crossings or other breaks in trade routes. Thus we see the town was largely dependent upon exchanges from villages; so towns might live and prosper or decay and go back to villages. Towns, like villages, generally had agricultural interests of their own. Gras states that "One of the outstanding features of town economy is the mutual dependence of town and countryside. Beyond the town walls lay the town pastures and arable fields. It is clear townsmen supplied themselves with some part of their foodstuffs and other raw products."⁶

Towns could develop only as agriculture prospered and gave forth surpluses to be sent out of the villages to be exchanged or sold. Towns, therefore, brought into existence a new class of workers—merchants, traders, and exchangers. They also stimulated and allowed to develop the insecure artisan class, such as weavers, cobblers, tailors, and the like. With the accumulation of wealth centering in the towns, more resources were made available for the development of the refinements of advancing civilization; professional classes, such as teachers, artists, and philosophers, functioned and received support and encouragement. Industry multiplied its improvements of useful and ornamental objects, and political institutions enlarged their scope and influence. Needless to say, forms of

⁶ Gras, N. S. B., *op. cit.*, p. 18.

taxation had to be developed as public institutions grew. This in short is the town, which has come down to us with the village, and which so fundamentally rests upon a satisfactory rural life base.

Cities.—Urban centers were of later development than villages and towns. Cities, like towns, had to await larger growth in population, social organizations, industry, trade, and commerce. Cities were farther removed from agriculture, but, nevertheless, depended to a greater or less extent upon the flow of agricultural productions. Cities became great storage and market places; they stimulated transportation, commercialization, and unification of social and economic factors throughout their trade belts. Cities were an added aid to agriculture and rural life; they helped to bring on and direct a national economy. Cities today occupy much the same significance in relation to rural life on the one hand, and to national life on the other. They are great market centers and storage places for the surpluses of the farms; they stimulate and accelerate movements of all kinds; and most of all, with their industries, trades, and personal-service businesses and professions they act as elastic population reservoirs. Their powers of population absorption far outrun those of rural districts.

LESSONS FROM ROMAN AGRICULTURE

Periods in Roman rural life.—Space will not permit our going into detail in this section, but suffice it to state that Roman rural history might be divided into several rather distinct periods. Beginning with the settling-down process of the tribes composing the early groups, village life and small cultivators characterized the first periods of development. The patriarchal family was also a prevailing type of family life during these early times. Later, and during the high tide of Rome's greatness, large slave plantations were developed.

Intermingled with and following the plantations came a period during which free tenants seemed to predominate. During the greater part of the last 600 years of the Empire, servile tenants, slaves, and a semi-feudalistic régime prevailed. It was in this period that a form of manorial life developed on the larger estates and plantations. For a complete treatment of certain phases of Roman rural history the reader is referred to Gras' "History of Agriculture in Europe and America."

Rural statesmen and their policies.—Roman rural history is unique and valuable, a careful study of it would give us much to ponder over rather seriously in the light of our own rural affairs. During the periods of her sober growth and development Rome honored her agricultural pursuits and prospered accordingly. Many of her versatile men of literary and political prominence, such as Cato, Columella, Varro, Pliny and Virgil, devoted themselves diligently to rendering services in behalf of advancing rural life. Many of them lived in the country and loved it. Thoroughness and patience were dominant virtues of Roman methods of farming.

Columella says that it was Cato who taught Agriculture to speak Latin. Cato's book, written in the middle of the second century B. C., was the first on the subject in Latin; indeed, it was one of the very first books written in that vernacular at all.⁷

Much thought was devoted to the technical problems of farming during the best periods of Roman history. Extensive plans were worked out for manuring the soil, tending, housing, and feeding livestock, draining and fencing the farm. The life of the farm was also appreciated and valued. Cato wrote:

Personally, I think highly of a man actively and diligently engaged in commerce, who seeks thereby to make his fortune, yet,

⁷ A Virginia Farmer, "Roman Farm Management," p. 4. Copyright, 1913, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

as I have said, his career is full of risks and pitfalls. But it is from the tillers of the soil that spring the best citizens, the staunchest soldiers; and theirs are the enduring rewards which are most grateful and least envied. Such as devote themselves to that pursuit are least of all men given to evil counsels.⁸

From the point of view of the social unity and co-operative relations among farmers, the Romans advanced some of their wisest suggestions. Cato writes:

Be a good neighbor. Do not roughly give offense to your own people. If the neighborhood regards you kindly, you will find a readier market for what you have to sell, you will more easily get your work done, either on the place or by contract. If you build, your neighbors will aid you with their services, their cattle and their materials. If any misfortune should overtake you (which God forbid!) they will protect you with kindly interest.⁹

Subjection and slavery.—In Roman rural life we catch glimpses of surprisingly modern thought and practice. Rome, however, seemed anchored to a system of unfree tillers of the soil, of slavery; and conditions of servitude typified the condition of the actual farmers. There were freeholder farmers and free tenants, more at some periods than at others, but the major span of Roman history was covered with subjected cultivators. Senators, knights, and rich townsmen owned vast estates which were cultivated by slaves or servile tenants.

One of the early incentives to this system arose out of the conflicts between the so-called plebeian class who were the original settlers of Roman territory, and the patrician class, who were the newcomers, conquerors, leaders, and manipulators of affairs. The patricians placed themselves in positions of power and authority, and lorded it over the plebeian class. Rome also engaged in conquest and plunder, and there-

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

by took many subjects who were made slaves on the plantations and estates of the wealthy, plundering group. These matters served to keep conditions on the land in a state of unrest. Slave revolts were common, especially during the slave plantation period, when the treatment of slaves on many plantations was scarcely better than the treatment accorded the live-stock.

The question of land holdings concerned some of the more thoughtful leaders, at times. They were alarmed over the large estates absorbing the small independent farmers whom they looked upon as good rural citizenry. Laws were passed to force the division of some of the large holdings which had incorporated public lands in an irregular manner and which were in arrears on taxes. Regardless of what far-sighted leaders saw, Roman rural life became generally reduced to serfdom and peasantry. Towards the close of the Empire the manorial system was established, the smaller towns and the villages reverted to an early self-sufficient economy.

The imperialistic attitudes and practices of Roman political chiefs permeated her rural life and made for subjection and discontent. The lesson we seem to derive from this page in history is that an enslaved class on the soil, and an aristocratic class above them, spell friction, discontent, and ultimate social disruption.

RURAL LIFE OF THE MIDDLE AND LATER CENTURIES

Feudalistic rural conditions.—The fall of Rome ushered in the feudal system of the so-called middle centuries. Blackmar, in commenting on the feudal system, says:

It appears to be the only system fitted to bring order out of the chaotic conditions of society, but by the very nature of affairs it could not long continue as an established system.¹⁰

¹⁰ Blackmar, F. W., "History of Human Society," p. 294, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926.

We are interested here in feudalism only far enough to learn what happened to rural life during these long centuries of stagnation which overspread all Europe. Feudalism was founded chiefly upon the basis of land holding. Governments were weak or broken when feudalism took hold of the people. Blackmar states:

In the early period in France, where feudalism received its most perfect development, several methods of granting land were in vogue. First, the lands in the immediate possession of the conquered were retained by them on condition that they pay tribute to the conquerors; the wealthy Romans were allowed to hold all or part of their large estates. Second, many lands were granted in fee simple to the followers of the chiefs. Third, was the beneficiary grant, most common to feudal tenure in its developed state. By this method land was granted as a reward for services past or prospective. The last method to be named is that of commendation, by which the small holder of land needing protection gave his land to a powerful lord, who in turn regranted it to the original owner on condition that the latter became his vassal. Thus the lands conquered by a chief or lord were parcelled out to his principal supporters, who in turn regranted them to those under them, so that all society was formed in a gradation of classes based on the ownership of land. Each lord had his vassal, every vassal his lord. Each man swore allegiance to the one next above him, and this one to his superior, until the king was reached, who himself was but a powerful feudal lord.¹¹

We see typifying this system of social and economic life predatory interests and the exercise of force in obtaining and in holding land. A complex system of clientage and patronage was established. Rural life, like almost all other forms of social life, marked time during the mediaeval period. There was little to encourage the development of it; there existed a self-sufficing, non-commercial agriculture. The conditions of the tiller class usually grew debased and intolerable; revolts

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 296.

and uprisings were common. The methods of farming were crude, the home life simple, and often devoid of necessities. An important development of the feudal period was the manorial type of rural life.

The manor.—The manor, which came into existence before the collapse of the Roman empire, was a somewhat softened phase of the feudal system. Blackmar states that ". . . the lord and his retainers claimed the land by their right of occupation and the power to hold, whether this came through conquest, force of arms, or agreement."¹²

The manorial system seemed to come into greatest use during the latter half of the period of feudalism. It probably reached its best development in England, although it was well established in France, Germany, and later in Russia; manorial forms were also developed in the Orient.

Space will permit of only a brief treatment of the manor. Figure 1 shows a fairly typical arrangement of the location of the homes, public buildings, fields, pond and mill, and lord's manor on an English manorial estate.

Origin of the manor.—History does not tell us what was the origin of the manor. We have seen that the cultivators of the soil had established their modes of living in villages and towns; that some of the villages were free and that some sooner or later came under allegiance to a conqueror or overlord. It is doubtless in this fashion that the manor idea developed, although as we have seen in Roman history, slave plantations were there a large factor in rural life. It is possible that in order to bring more satisfactory conditions to the slaves in revolt and in mutiny, freedom under limitations was granted the more recalcitrant elements, and slavery continued for the more docile; thus a system approaching the manorial system would tend to grow out of the plantation. The plantation already possessed the villa or home of the plantation owner or his representative. Whatever its origin, the

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 430.

manorial type of agriculture spread, and furnished a better condition than a pure state of feudalism or of slavery.

Causes of manorial development.—Governments were weak and vacillating during feudal times; brigandage and violence were rife; leaders of bands arose from time to time and perfected conquests or wrought destruction to lands and

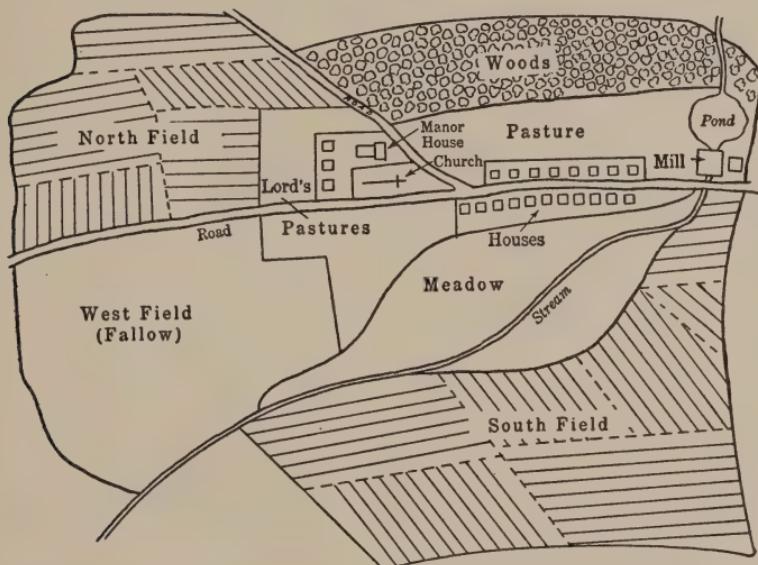


FIG. 1.—An English Manorial Estate. (The Ancient Agricultural Community.)

people. The manorial system afforded protection and security to the masses of laborers who were unable otherwise to follow the peaceful pursuits of farming and stock-raising. Under the system of allegiance to a local leader, called the lord of the manor, society was so graded that each man had his place and his security therein. This was, no doubt, helpful to some individuals, who under a free-for-all scheme would not have been able to do for themselves; on the other hand, it stifled the ambitions and energies of aggressive men.

The people of the manor.—The lord of the manor was the leading figure of the manorial estate. He was a bishop, or archbishop, or other church dignitary, if the main system of protection were ecclesiastical; or he might be a knight, nobleman, or the king himself, if secular protection was the strength of the land. The lord owed obligations to the overhead power for his protection and privileges; these he paid through direct money payments, fighting men, fish, game, or farm produce.

Ranging from the lord on down were the following individuals and classes:

Steward

Bailiff

Reeve

Free tenants

Unfree tenants—villeins or serfs

Cottars and squatters

Slaves

In addition to these general groups, artisan classes were to be found, also a priest, mill-wright, shepherd, swineherd, dairy-herd, and others, depending upon the degree of the division of labor.

The steward, bailiff, and reeve were officials of the lord, and assisted him in the conduct of his political and economic functions. The free tenants were the freemen of the estate; they tenanted land allotted to them and paid the lord a rental in money or in produce. These people could leave the manor if they chose, and had the right to direct the fortunes of their children. They had to enlist for military service when required and also help as needed on the lord's land. Such services were considered as absolving labor or rent obligations. The unfree tenants, sometimes called serfs or villeins, were the most numerous class of the manorial estate. They were required to labor on the lord's demesne, at least two or three

days out of the week, at whatever work there was to do. They had none of the privileges of the free tenants in directing the fortunes of their sons and daughters, save as these were granted by the lord. They were also allotted small tracts of land to farm.

Below the unfree tenants ranked the cottars and the squatters. These people were first obligated to work for the lord the greater part of their time, probably three or four days per week; after this they could work for others at hire, or cultivate their small allotments, which consisted of not over a few acres.

The last and lowest class was the slaves, who had no land at all, save perhaps a small plot near their cabins. They were required to give all of their labor to the lord; he could sell them at will like any of his animals. Slavery was not an important feature of the manorial system, and it disappeared in the later developments.

The physical layout of the manorial estate.—Figure 1 shows the general physical features of the estate. The cultivable fields were usually divided into strips and the tenants allotted alternating strips so that no one would have a monopoly of good or bad soil. A three-field system of culture grew up, which permitted one field to lie unused (fallow) one year out of three; this was supposed to rest the land. Pasture-land was used in common by the tenants; so also were the woods and the meadow-land. The lord owned the mill and fish pond. The tenants had to pay toll at the mill for getting their feed ground. The lord set aside all the land he felt he wanted and needed for his own use; this was called the lord's demesne. Usually there was a church house on the estate with a resident priest; both were maintained by a tax on the people of the estate.

Political and economic self-sufficiency of the manor.—The manorial system was relatively a highly self-sufficient unit. Aside from salt, iron, spices, and other foreign products which

came into use, the people of the manor could and did live very much within their own means. The agriculture practiced conformed to the climate, soil, and rainfall conditions. Trade was established with towns, and the surpluses of the manors were converted into moneys or credits.

Ashley states:

Each manor had its own law courts for the maintenance of order. Every three weeks the Court Baron was held in the Manor House, attended by all the villagers who cared to come, for the punishment of petty offences, and to witness the transfer of holdings. At longer intervals came together the Court Leet, if the lord had a grant of criminal jurisdiction, for the punishment of graver crimes; and punishment may be supposed to have exerted all its deterrent influence when thieves were hanged at the places where they had sinned.¹³

Social life of the manor.—We are able to visualize a closely knit social unity for the manor population.

The village consisted of a group of houses ranging in number from ten or twelve to as many as fifty or perhaps even more, grouped around what in later times would be called a "village green," or along two or three intersecting lanes.¹⁴

The people were constantly thrown together in every detail of their work, and in this phase a high degree of co-operation developed. Plowing, seeding, and harvesting their scattered small strips of land called for much lending of labor, implements, and animals. In the village, which was small and compact, social gatherings were frequent and mostly of village-wide character. Common sufferings and common enjoyments drew the people closely about their central organization. Many disadvantages accompanied the system. Custom and

¹³ Ashley, W. J., "An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory," pp. 33-34, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1919.

¹⁴ Cheyney, Edward P., "An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England," quoted in Sims, N. L., "The Rural Community," p. 58, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1920.

law fastened individuals to their places, choices in marriage were so limited that there was considerable inbreeding.

The decline of the manor.—A complex set of circumstances brought on the decline and final cessation of the manorial system. The growth of towns, which became centers of trade and industry, attracted discontented manorial tenants; the towns also helped stiffen and strengthen the governments so that men could receive protection in freedom without paying allegiance to an overlord. The development of money economy, and commutation of services by money rents, helped break the force of the manor servitude. In England the manor received a severe blow from the enclosure practices following 1200. These practices grew out of the desire to grow sheep to supply wool for the industries that were springing up on the Continent.

Gras states that "in England after 1500 the manor survived only in non-essentials, some of them, however, being of considerable importance."¹⁵ In Europe, the manor declined in France somewhat earlier than it did in England, in Germany it persisted quite generally into the nineteenth century.

In Prussia serfdom was abolished by the edict of 1807; the end of bailiff-farming was provided for in 1811; and in 1821 the separation of the lord's lands from peasants' holdings was facilitated. In Russia the manor was abolished by imperial decree in 1861. A decade later it disappeared in Japan along with feudalism.¹⁶

General discontent, giving rise to numerous peasant revolts and uprisings, hastened the decline of the manorial system in England and on the Continent.

SUMMARY

In a broad way we have covered the trends of agriculture up to the settlement of America; we have seen that farm life

¹⁵ Gras, N. S. B., *op. cit.*, p. 94.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

has had a severe trial through much of its early history. Land has always been a prized possession, and especially so in non-industrial times. The possession of land has given men immense power over others, which for long centuries has been used to subjugate the weaker and make him work for the stronger. Under these schemes a unique, high-minded, liberty-loving class could not develop and erect a stable and democratic rural civilization. While the independent farmer has existed more or less through all the years, he has been a minor factor as we can well see.

Europe today is still laboring under the customs and traditions of a servile class on the land; she finds it hard to get away from the old methods even though feudalism has been abolished. The European farmer has been slow and backward in modernizing his practices and modes of living; the yoke of servitude has been fastened to him for so many centuries. It remained for America to establish a new system of farm life, the like of which the world had never seen. In the following chapter we shall take up certain of the outstanding phases of this later development, but we should not forget the backgrounds which lie in the institutions, customs, and practices which have here been reviewed.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE RURAL LIFE IN AMERICA

Introduction.—This chapter represents an attempt to help the reader realize the diversity of conditions existing in rural America. Rural sociology texts have often been criticized for dealing in abstractions. The field they have to cover is so broad and varied that it becomes difficult to avoid generalities which are not representative of any particular section or division of actual rural conditions. The materials of this chapter will enable the reader to understand the reasons for many of the general treatments given in the text, and they should assist him in making closer and more concrete applications to his own local rural situations. We need more comparative rural life studies in order that we may develop good breadth of understanding, objectivity, and tolerance in handling the problems of rural life.

Early influences.—In the preceding chapter we briefly traced the history of rural life from early primitive beginnings to near the close of the manorial period in England. This will enable us to obtain a fuller understanding of some of the practices and modes of living which the colonists in America adopted and which became more or less imbedded in our rural life. For a large part of the body of knowledge, technique, and social ideals of early colonial life we are indebted to the English. Most of the early settlers came from the British Islands and carried with them many of the ideals of the mother country; we could hardly expect matters to have been otherwise. A brief review of history will show that the colonists were settling in America during a part of the

decline of the manorial system in England; consequently we should expect early colonial life to be somewhat tinctured with the practices of that system. Quite contrary to the fact that freedom from the old bondages was a much-sought-for ideal, a people coming to a far distant and strange land would be inclined to begin their new existence, in a considerable measure, where they had left off in the mother country; especially would this be so while the mother country held a significant control over the colonies.

There was a further influence acting upon colonial life which must be given an evaluation in accounting for early developments. This was the influence of the Indians with whom the colonists had contact. These Indians were primitive peoples, many of whom, as we have before stated, were slowly entering a stage of development long since passed by the forefathers of the colonists—namely, settling down to agricultural pursuits. The influence of the Indians was both desirable and undesirable. It was desirable in that it taught the colonists, at first hand, practices that though primitive, were capable of immediate returns from the various local conditions of soil and climate. It was undesirable in that it tended to pull them backward to crude techniques and a natural type of husbandry.

NEW ENGLAND RURAL LIFE

Uniqueness of New England.—New England was outstanding among the American colonies in several respects. In the first place, her soils were generally inhospitable to extensive agriculture, and consequently dictated a type of economic life that was different from the type established in the other colonies. The old feudal system of clientage and patronage gained little foothold in the New England colonies. Free proprietorship in the land was the first order of these colonists; with free proprietorship went large freedom in political

and governmental life. New England was largely settled by Puritans from England, a high spirited, religiously bigoted, individualistic, and liberty-loving people. Their proximity to the ocean and to great forests naturally led them into industries sooner than into the development of agriculture, although the latter, of course, was sufficiently engaged in to take care of their needs.

The New England village.—The Puritans settled in compact village communities for several reasons. *First*, large stretches of land easy of cultivation were scarce, and community effort was necessary to clear the land of the forest and bring it under the plow. *Second*, protection against the Indians compelled close settlement. *Third*, migration of the Puritans to America was largely by groups, kinsfolk, and friends who had been associated in England and who desired to live near one another and near their common church.

The New England town was the center of rural life, similar to the towns and villages of old. The town owned lands; and, for a time, a communal type of culture was practiced. This died out early, however, and lands were acquired as private property. Professor Andrews states:

The New Englander who viewed for the first time the list of his allotments as entered in the town book of land records had the novel sensation of knowing that to all intents and purposes they were his own property, subject of course to the law of the colony, which he himself helped to make through his representatives in the Assembly; subject, too, more remotely, to the authority of the King across the sea. But the King did not often bother him. He could do with his land much as he pleased: sell it if need be, leave it to his children by will, or add to it by purchase.¹

For a considerable length of time after the abandonment of communal cultivation, such lands as woods, pastures, and

¹ Andrews, Charles M., quoted in "Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture," p. 74, Schmidt, L. B., and Ross, E. D., Copyright, 1925, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

ponds were held and used in common; herders and flock-masters were employed to tend the stock of the town proprietors upon these tracts. The town common has long held a prominent place in New England history.

"When new land became scarce near one of the original towns, a group or congregation would get a grant of land from the colonial assembly with permission to found a new town."² The towns included the settlements—nucleated collections of homes—and surrounding land in amount sufficient to sustain the desired agricultural pursuits. Usually the size of territory would vary from 25 square miles to 36 square miles in area, generally irregular in outline to conform to the geographical conditions.

Professor Fairlie states:

The New England town has been described as a manor without a lord. But its activities included those of the English manor, the civil functions of the parish and many others. In addition to maintaining highways and caring for the poor, it supported public schools, regulated private business of every sort in most minute fashion, and was the unit for the assessment and collection of taxes, for militia organization and for representation in colonial assemblies, and in some colonies, also for land records and judicial purposes.³

Social life in rural New England.—Social life in rural New England has long had an advantage in variety not enjoyed to the same extent elsewhere. To begin with, there was much relative freedom from overlords and landed proprietors; there was also considerable early diversity of interests. Timber was to be cut and worked into lumber; sugar trees were to be tapped and the sugar and syrup utilized; fisheries were to be established; shipbuilding was prosecuted, fur-farming was conducted. These different interests soon

² Sanford, A. H., "The Story of Agriculture in the United States," p. 27, D. C. Heath & Company, New York, 1916.

³ Fairlie, John A., "Local Government in Counties, Towns and Villages," p. 21, The Century Company, New York, 1906.

brought into the New England town a host of artisans and workers of different sorts. Schools and churches were also early established and kept in close contact with the people. It has been stated that the New Englanders were a very homogeneous people and moved in groups possessing congeniality. As a consequence of these and numerous other factors, New England rural life was colored richly by genuine social development and advancement. Old-fashioned pastimes were frequent and common; parties, festivals, husking-bees, spelling matches, log-rollings, barn-raisings, sugaring-offs, and a host of others brought the people together in rousing good fellowship spirit. The drawbacks, however, were the difficult geographical conditions of soil and climate, and an isolated situation tending towards the development of provincialism.

New England's contributions to American rural affairs in both men and methods are too great and too far-reaching to be recounted here. She set before the country the ideal of the free, high-minded, sober, and industrious farmer; that ideal has been carried into the far-reaches of American rural life.

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

Geographical conditions.—In the southern colonies an entirely different set of natural conditions was prevalent from those in New England or in the middle colonies. There were great stretches of fertile open land, especially in the tide-water and adjacent areas. The climate was also hospitable, and communication lines were easy to establish. Agriculture in the southern colonies centered around the production of a few staple articles, such as tobacco and rice, and later, cotton. This at once led to a commercial type of farming. Large estates and plantations were quite generally the rule in the southern colonies. Dr. Bogart says, "The average size of the

Virginia estate was about 5000 acres, while in New England the average farm was probably not far from 100 acres.”⁴

The people of the southern colonies.—While the people, in general, who settled in the southern colonies were not far different from those of New England, a good many of the English cavaliers, the wealthy and wealth-seeking, came to engage in large-scale farming. As the settlers moved up the broad valleys of the rivers leading back from the coast, they located their homes on plantations sometimes considerable distances apart. This at once gave a scattered and non-nucleated condition of settlement uncommon to the New England settlements. The large land holdings called for a great deal of cheap labor which was provided, to a considerable degree, by the famous New England rum-molasses-slave triangle between the northern colonies, South Africa, and the southern colonies.

History tells also, but with a good deal of disagreement as to numbers, that convicts from English prisons were used for labor power on some of the early plantations. Also, during later periods of settlement, trouble in England and Ireland caused a goodly number of so-called Scotch-Irish to emigrate to the poorer back-country lands of the southern colonies; these people caused much disturbance, because they were usually in debt to the rich plantation owners, and because of friction with the Indians along the frontier.

Semi-manorial plans.—The old feudal ideas of land tenure and methods of farming gained a foothold in the southern colonies as well as in portions of the middle colonies. The quit-rent system, which was a survival of the days of feudalism when tenants were permitted to commute their services on the lord’s demesne to a money payment, was saddled upon the colonists. These rents became a continuous bone of contention and were finally wiped out with the Revolution. The

⁴ Bogart, E. L., “An Economic History of the United States,” p. 38, Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1922.

title to the lands granted to the colonists was supposed to rest in the crown; the quit-rent was an annual obligation due the crown.

The imposition of the quit-rents in the American colonies emphasized their relation to the mother-country as fiefs of the crown.⁵

The quit-rent gave a semi-manorial character to the colonial agriculture of the southern colonies. So far as is known, no purely manorial estates were established like the old system that was breaking down in England. Several attempts were made in the Virginia colony and in Maryland, but the plans were short-lived. Plantations, however, were established in great numbers as time went on, some running into thousands of acres in size.

The plantations came to be called manors in many instances. Thus we read:

Many of these estates he (the Southerner) was accustomed to speak of as manors, though the peculiar rights which distinguished a manor from any other tract of land early disappeared, and the manor in Maryland and Virginia, as elsewhere, meant merely a landed estate. . . .

By the wealthy Virginian the term manor was used much less frequently than it was in Maryland, while in the Carolinas and Georgia, it was not used at all.⁶

Social life in the southern colonies.—There was less homogeneity among the people of the southern colonies than was the case in New England. Slaves were constantly present and were, of course, a servile class; at times, the mother-country dumped unsatisfactory and questionable people upon the colonies; the landed proprietors constituted an upper, aristocratic

⁵ Bond, B. W., "Colonial Tenures," quoted in Schmidt and Ross, "Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture," p. 55, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925.

⁶ Andrews, C. M., *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

eratic class; the back-country settlers were men of small means who were aggressive, restless, and impulsive—the frontier buffers between the Indians and the settled tidewater belts.

In the plantation section the social life centered largely about each plantation unit. Towns were distant and few compared with other colonies to the north. The planters maintained connections with merchants abroad, and from their own wharves along the rivers transacted, first-hand, their business with merchants in England.

The planter's dwelling was usually a large mansion-like house near which would be located the kitchen-house, smoke-house, and other out-buildings. The barns and negro cabins would also be located at a convenient distance away. A complete, almost self-sufficing unit of life was established. The planter, being responsible for the food and clothing of his slaves, bought articles in quantity and carried stores of them in stock. There would usually be a plantation carpenter, and often a tailor, weaver, shoemaker, tanner, cooper, and gardener.

The typical planter of Virginia was very hospitable, and entertained, sometimes for weeks and months, almost any intelligent and well-mannered stranger who might come to his door. This was a pleasant way in which to break the monotony of plantation life. The planter was fond of fox-hunting and horse-racing; hence, he had the best horses in the colonies. . . .

Courtesy and fine manners were taught in the planter's home; many of the boys were sent to England for their education. But it is evident that they believed manual labor was only for the servants. Hard work with the hands would lower the master or his family in the eyes of the servants and make it difficult to keep authority over them. Here in the South, then, were bred many strong men and women fit to become leaders and to command.⁷

Southern agriculture was much more a commercial type of agriculture than any that had been established abroad or in

⁷ Sanford, A. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

New England. It gave men a glimpse of the power and riches that might be gained through exploitation of land and slaves; it fastened the idea of a servile slave group firmly upon the southern mind. The plantation scheme resembled somewhat the old Roman *latifundium*. The stamp of southern colonial principles became thoroughly implanted, to be carried later throughout the South and into some of the states of the central basin.

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

A middle ground position.—A considerable medley of peoples and of modes of living typified the conditions of the middle colonies, which comprised New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. The main groups consisted of English and Scotch, but goodly numbers of Germans and Dutch settled in different parts of the states. Swedes endeavored to colonize Delaware about 1638, but gave their venture over to the Dutch in 1655. At the same time that the Scotch-Irish came to the southern colonies (about 1740), many also came to the middle colonies and settled on the western fringes; they also filtered into the New England colonies at this time. Pennsylvania was especially lenient towards different nationality groups; William Penn widely advertised his colony, and as a consequence most of the northwestern European countries were represented there.

Types of settlement.—As to both soil and climate, the middle colonies occupied a middle ground position between the northern and southern colonies. There were areas of level, fertile soil along the Hudson River, on which, in the beginning, the Dutch established a close semblance of the feudal manorial estate; this was the patroon system. A patroon was a person who was rewarded in large land grants for settling in the colony a certain number of immigrants within a limited period of time.

The "patroon" was obliged to divide his estate into farms, erect buildings, and furnish stock and tools for each tenant. The latter would then pay a certain rent, generally in the form of produce, and the patroon would also get a part of the increase of the stock. The tenant was not allowed to sell the rest of his crops until the patroon had been given a chance to buy the produce. He agreed to have his grain ground at the patroon's mill and to get a license to hunt and fish. Furthermore, the tenant bound himself not to leave the estate for ten years, during which time he was free of taxes. The patroon was an official, as well as a landlord, and before him cases were brought as to court.⁸

The patroon system was never very extensive, and it was short-lived. Large estates developed where the soil was suitable, and on some of these slaves or indentured servants were worked. This latter was an abused practice which required a longer time to outgrow it than was the case with the patroon system. An indentured servant was a person who sold his labor for a term of years, usually for the cost of his passage to America. This naturally caught many poor people. In some cases such people would indenture their children to enable the family to get a foothold in the new environment.

A composite rural life.—We are able to see now that there was quite a mixture of population elements in the makeup of the middle colonies. On Long Island, in northern New Jersey, and generally around New York, were village modes of farming similar to those in New England. In the broad valleys were plantations similar to those in the South.

On the one hand were the petty acres of small farms surrounding the towns and villages; on the other were such great estates as Morrisania and Rensselaerwyck, where the farmers were not freeholders but tenants, and where the proprietors could ride for miles through arable land, meadow, and woodland, without crossing the boundaries of their own territory.⁹

⁸ Sanford, A. H., *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁹ Schmidt, L. B., and Ross, E. D., *op. cit.*, p. 75.

There were elements of great strength for American rural life in the middle colonies. The plantation system did not last long because it was ill adapted to the type of farming, which was diversified; free tenant farming has always been a large feature. Small to moderate-sized farms prevailed, which were owned and worked by a conservative, hard-working class. The so-called Pennsylvania Dutch have left a deep impression upon middle colony farm life. Large barns and granaries, and commodious homes came to grace the landscape as the thrifty settlers were able to pull themselves upward to independency.

The cosmopolitan character of the people of the middle colonies gave a like result to their institutions and social life. We can trace this influence wherever the people went in later settlements.

SUMMARY OF RURAL COLONIAL LIFE

Before leaving the discussion of colonial agriculture, we need to remind ourselves that it was primarily a self-sufficing type of rural life. Roads and means of transportation were very poor at best; farm implements were crude, consisting chiefly of heavy wooden plows, forks, spades, and harrows. The work on the farm was hard and laborious; each rural home was usually the center of the home industries of the times, such as weaving, candle-making, knitting, and similar industries. The farming was of the natural husbandry type. Soil conservation was little thought of; when a field "wore out," it was abandoned and a new one taken on; and when the farm wore out, the occupant would move on west. Social times were genuine, however, and the habit of combining pleasure as much as possible with the tasks of the farm and home gave rise to husking-bees, apple-parings, barn-raisings, and similar events. Interest in technical agricultural societies was slow of development; early leaders sought on their own

initiative to improve stock by importations of good animals from abroad.

The student of rural life in America will find, to a greater or lesser degree, the imprint of the respective elements discussed above in various sections of the country. But out of it all has developed and prevailed the family-sized farm, owned and operated by the farmer himself with the assistance of his family. He is relatively independent, sober, conservative—an industrious citizen, who shuns every semblance of patronage.

CONTEMPORANEOUS RURAL LIFE DIFFERENCES

The various steps in the settlement of the vast stretches of the public domain west of the Alleghanies are too numerous to be entered into here. We are interested in several of the outstanding features of this movement, however, and shall give them in order to produce a better understanding of rural life and its comparative differences today.

Scattered farm homes.—Probably no feature of rural life in the United States became more clearly marked than the policy of establishing homesteads at distances varying from a few rods to several miles apart, depending upon the size of the holding, topographical features, and similar factors. Some scattering of farm homes took place during colonial settlement, especially to the west of the early groupings, and in unclaimed territory. Plantations in the southern colonies, and large estates in the middle colonies, also brought about more or less spatial separation among the farmers. For the most part, however, these estates and plantations were nucleated groups holding a considerable number of people and are hardly comparable to the isolated farmstead units which grew up in the settlement of the western domain.

Evidently the chief cause of scattering of farm homes was the rectangular system of land survey, established by the

Ordinance of 1785, to lay off the lands of the western domain. At first, 640 acres was the smallest tract one could acquire in the new territory; later, the amount was reduced to 320 acres, and finally, to 160 acres, until the far western states were reached in settlement, when the areas were again enlarged to give tracts more economical in size. Later, in irrigated regions, areas became even smaller than 160 acres.

The rectangular survey became influential, therefore, in helping mold the future social career of the American farmer. He settled on these rectangular tracts of land, built his home, roads, improved his land, and lived a relatively self-sufficient type of existence very much after his own individual ideals. The independence which was sought in America was realized through the experiences of pioneering in a new, rich country; through a prevailing democratic political organization; and through comparatively simple, direct, and forceful institutions. This was a complete break with the land and social systems of Europe. In it the mass of farmers in America lost, to a large degree, their group techniques, and acquired a surprisingly resourceful individualism. Today the farmer is faced with the problem of reducing a pioneer individualism and acquiring group techniques consistent with his planes of independency and the ideals of a democratic society. This is a new status for agriculturalists which has never long been realized in any age or approached in the same wholesome way that is being realized in America today.

The break between town and country.—We have seen in Chapter II, and again in the discussion of early colonial life in America, that town centers and farms were closely linked; the farmers for the most part lived in towns. During our settlement days, however, farms and towns grew apart; the towns were no longer residential places for farmers, and farmers became self-sufficient. Towns gradually took on localized manufacture and trade, and also became more or less self-sufficient. Now that commercialized agriculture has displaced

the old system, and large industrial plants have absorbed simple town manufacture, farmer and townsman find it necessary that they cultivate each other in both business and social relations.

Influence of nationality groups.—The fact that North America and Europe lie in practically the same latitudinal areas, possessing similar soil belts, rainfall, and consequently, crop belts, makes for the great deal of similarity in physical features. These factors have aided materially in our assimilation of European farmers. With the exception of the southern states, the Europeans have settled on farms in America in crop and climatic belts similar to the ones they left in the home country. The localization of foreign farmers in America is given in Chapter IV.

That our rural social development has been accelerated by fresh accretions from abroad is a well-known fact. On the other hand, there is no doubt that it has also suffered from backwardness and social heterogeneity in certain areas. The English and Scotch have stimulated our animal husbandry; the Swiss and Danes our dairy interests. The Germans have furnished us illustrious examples of careful field husbandry, industry, and thrift. In some good soil belts these people have been absorbing the farms at a rapid rate because of their close application to work and management. The Scandinavians generally have proved progressive and possessed of high ideals of family, education, and social life; they have assimilated rapidly. The French and Irish, for the most part, have not made successful farmers. The Jews have never taken to farming on a very large scale; they have established colonies in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and some of the western states. Their agriculture runs to specialized production such as poultry raising, dairying, and gardening.

Of the later comers, the Poles, Finns, Italians, and Mexicans have engaged to a greater or less degree in farming. These groups are more clannish than most foreign groups;

they are found to a large extent on poor, left-over lands scattered throughout the eastern and northern states, except in the case of the Mexicans, who are found largely in the far southwestern states. These people have standards entirely different from those of American farmers and often introduce troublesome social problems into the rural areas where they settle. Italians are finding their way into southern truck- and fruit-growing in greater numbers than ever before; they are generally giving a good account of themselves in these areas.

Orientals, such as Japanese and Chinese, are found chiefly in the Pacific Coast states and are engaged in truck, fruit, and general small farming schemes. Like the groups named above, the great disparity between them and white American farmers makes for segregation and isolation in rural areas.

Types of farms.—Besides differences brought about by population, there are production differences which give various types of farms. The social significance of farm types is undoubtedly far-reaching. Natural resources, modes of communication, density of population, technical processes, and markets all operate to decide types of farms. Timber farms, prairie farms, irrigation farms, live-stock farms, truck farms, fruit farms, and grain farms are all significant in social as well as economic relations.

Types of farmers.—We have today many different types of farmers as well as of farms. Farmers are graded like men in other callings. The rapidly changing economic system has called for the business type of farmer to a larger degree than many sections of the country have been able to supply him. As a consequence, the existence of the custom-bound and unbusiness-like farmer has been brought to our serious attention by his problems of social and economic adjustment. That the types of farmers vary is observable by a study of the improvements and methods of farming and living. Good farmers tend to supplant poor farmers and to force them to poorer and poorer soils.

A regional or sectional basis for understanding rural life differences in America.—Valuable as the above points are relative to the comparative differences existing in our rural sections, they are hardly broad enough to meet the needs of our study. In the absence of a better plan we have chosen to follow a region or sectional classification similar in nature to that employed by students of crop, soil, or climatic belts. We must not be unmindful of the fact that many variations will exist within the designated regions or sections. It may be evident, however, that enough uniqueness and uniformity of ideals and practices will be found prevailing among the residents of the areas to give a fairly good basis for a comparative rural life study.

Six broadly designated areas have been selected as follows: (1) The northeastern states, (2) The Appalachian Highlands, (3) The South and the cotton belt, (4) The Central West and the corn belt, (5) The western and southwestern plains and inter-mountain regions, (6) The irrigated farms, favored western valleys and uplands. A far more detailed classification would be necessary to develop all the important differences existing in rural America, but enough may be found under this plan to give the reader a helpful introduction to localized rural life conditions and problems.

1. THE NORTHEASTERN STATES

We are concerned here with the general rural life conditions in the New England and Middle Atlantic states. The backgrounds have been given in the description of the New England and middle colonies. There we saw that, for the most part, small farms and rather compact settlements of farm homes prevailed. Even today are these features true of the New England states. In New York and Pennsylvania the isolated farm homes are in greater prevalence, and more extensive types of farming are employed than is the case in other northeastern states.

A high degree of urbanization and industrialization has come to prevail in the northeastern states. The 1920 census shows that for New England only 20.8 per cent of the population is rural, and in the Middle Atlantic states 25.1 per cent is rural. These figures cover considerable variation between states, however, for the population of Vermont is reported as 68.8 per cent rural, Massachusetts 5.2 per cent rural, and Rhode Island 2.5 per cent rural. New England must, under such conditions, import most of her food supplies; in fact, it has been conservatively estimated that she raises less than 25 per cent of the food she consumes. Notwithstanding these facts, New England has developed, in certain limited areas, as high degree of agricultural success as is found in America. The Aroostook potato district in Maine is world-famous. The dairy farms in the Champlain Valley of Vermont are of a high order, as are the poultry farms of Rhode Island. Much truck-, vegetable-, and fruit-growing takes place in various parts of the New England states.

Many of the isolated and mountain areas of all the northeastern states are characterized by rural backwardness. Lumbering, fishing, and, in some cases, simple home industries prevail. Farmers in some of these regions endeavor to make ends meet by keeping summer boarders and farming only enough land to supply their tables and keep a few head of live-stock. In some areas farms have been abandoned, or are being farmed by a less virile and aggressive type than were the settlers in these regions. Foreign groups also, such as Greeks, Poles, Italians, and Hungarians, are found settling in whole neighborhoods and towns, and changing the social complexion of the rural population.

In New York, Professor Fippin says:

The open country will be constantly invaded by these vast urban interests, and a special kind of rural life will develop, in close touch with the movements and affairs of large centers of population.

The natural diversity of the State, insured by its topography, requires that a wide range of products will continue to be grown. We cannot predict an Empire State predominantly devoted to fruits, vegetables, dairy products, or other particular lines."¹⁰

He shows what is true of all the northeastern states, that large areas of rough and elevated land must be devoted to extensive methods, such as grazing and lumbering.

Rural social affairs are receiving a larger share of attention in the northeastern states than in many other sections of the country. Farm organizations, such as the Grange, are generally stronger than elsewhere. The state agricultural colleges and state boards of agriculture are especially active, as are farm bureaus, agricultural societies, and agencies seeking the development of home, school, church, health, and recreational life. There is a smaller percentage of rented farms in this section than elsewhere. Facilities for communication and transportation are rapidly improving in almost all sections.

2. THE APPALACHIAN HIGHLANDS

In this section, which embraces West Virginia, parts of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and a small portion of northeastern Alabama, we find marked rural differences. Here we have the purest native American stock, but at the same time the most outstanding provincialism and backwardness in rural America. This territory is characterized, in the main, by much physical and social isolation. The topography ranges from relatively level to mountainous. The agriculture, outside of a few large fruit and live-stock areas, is carried on with limited means and in small units.

¹⁰ Fippin, E. O., "Rural New York," p. 355. Copyright, 1921, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

Small mountain cabins prevail as the principal type of rural home. A large degree of self-sufficiency is maintained in these homes. The farmer endeavors to raise as much as possible for immediate home consumption. In this way is he able only to make ends meet, as his products for exchange are few under the adverse conditions of hillside culture. The economic leverage of these farmers is small; hence schools, roads, churches, and general improvements all suffer. In whole counties in West Virginia one may look in vain to find a single inhabitant with more than a high school education. Many of the grade schools are poorly equipped and taught by immature and poorly prepared teachers.

Dr. E. C. Branson states:

The mountain people I know are democratic by nature, high-spirited, self-reliant, and proudly independent. They scorn charities, and scent patronage afar. They are not a weakling people. They are sturdy and strong in character, keenly responsive to fair treatment, kind-hearted and loyal to friends, quick to lend help in distress; and salted unto salvation by a keen sense of humor.¹¹

Professor J. D. Muldoon,¹² of Marshall College, has stated that there are 69,000 illiterates above the age of ten in the state of West Virginia, and of this total, 60,000 are residents of the rural areas. He also says there are 40,000 illiterate voters in the state, and that 38,000 of these are in the rural districts.

John C. Campbell has studied the people of these Highlands of America as much as or more than any one else. He has seen all sides of their lives, and in his authoritative book entitled "The Southern Highlander and His Home-land," he has given us very complete facts. In spite of their physical

¹¹ Quoted from Phelan, John, "Readings in Rural Sociology," p. 63, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920.

¹² *The Huntington Advertiser*, p. 13, January 18, 1927, Huntington, West Virginia.

handicaps and social shortcomings he sees them gradually coming into a better state. He says:

Popular fancy would not be satisfied if the home folks were pictured anywhere but before the hospitable hearth of the little log cabin of pioneer days. No other dwelling can ever fit so well into the wooded hills and coves of our mountain country. Built for service rather than for appearance, there is yet real beauty in the long lines of the roof. . . .

All mountain homes are not cabins. . . . That life within different areas would vary greatly will readily be inferred. . . . Here the land lay in large unbroken areas of mountain and plateau, there in long fertile valleys or ranges flanked by the rolling country of the Piedmont; now it was disposed in extensive lofty uplands cut by valleys, and again in smaller tracts accessible to urban communities of the bordering hills or of the Valley. In one case the original stock would be little affected by influences from the outside; in another an easy outlet would be offered for native ambition and initiative, as well as a ready retreat for dissatisfied elements of the Lowlands.¹³

The great need of rural life in the Highlands is the introduction of new ideas and ideals, the breaking up of a deadening homogeneity due to physical and social isolation. Through state aid in road building and school development, and also through the extension of industries, such as cotton mills, mining enterprises, and the like, a new era is facing these backward rural sections of America.

3. THE SOUTH AND THE COTTON BELT

In this great stretch of country are found all sorts of variations in rural life conditions, and at the same time certain prevailing types which mark with considerable distinctness the general characteristics of southern agriculture.

¹³ Campbell, John C., "The Southern Highlander and His Homeland," pp. 72-73, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

The passage of the plantation: In the old South, the plantation system of earlier days stamped its marks upon the activities of the people, which gave this section both desirable and undesirable attitudes. In the first case, the plantation system gave to rural America a distinctive type of rural culture. It also gave a distinctively designed rural-house architecture, which was commodious, beautiful in design, and properly set in its rural environment. Tradition and legend, no doubt, give too big a place to the large, prosperous, well ordered plantation of the South. It is natural that such would be the case, for almost all of us are enamored of the romantic virtues of the relatively few outstanding examples of the idealistic plantation life. As Francis P. Gaines well states:

The student of actual plantation conditions discovers unmistakable evidence which points to the existence of an order of life in a few limited localities which approximates in real social charm the traditional social charm of the romances. In a few limited localities, be it remembered, this order existed; in tidewater Virginia, in the rice districts of South Carolina, in the lower Mississippi Valley, and, to a smaller extent, in certain Piedmont sections. The popular legend, however, ascribes this setting of splendor, this manner of cultured magnificence, to the whole South.¹⁴

Gaines reminds us that alongside the plantation society of former days we must rank "the yeomanry of the South, comparable perhaps to the English farmers, but not to the English gentlemen."¹⁵ These were farmers of moderate means, some possessing a few slaves and others using free labor. They constituted the real backbone of southern farm life.

The effects of slavery and the plantation upon the South have been persistent. However salutary they were in some respects, they tended to fasten an undemocratic social system

¹⁴ Gaines, Francis P., "The Southern Plantation," pp. 143-44, Columbia University Press, New York, 1925.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

upon it which has been slow in giving way. In fact, there are still to be found feeble attempts to carry out many of the economic ideals of the plantation system with the uses of the cropper farmer and the negro tenant system. Within recent years the plantations have been passing rapidly, and the South has now fairly launched upon the farm-type of agriculture.

The ever-present racial problem, together with the background of semi-feudalism, helps explain, in part, the generally backward rural social conditions in the South. The same continuity of farm practice does not prevail here as in some other sections of the country. Cotton has been the premier crop throughout the South, and so well does it lend itself to the uses of negro labor that the tendency to make it the single crop in favored areas has been persistent. These factors have lessened the force of agricultural improvements which have swept through the northern and western states. Diversification of crops and greater stabilization of farm incomes, together with modernization of farm and home, are gradually developing southern farm life.

The people of the South: There are few foreign groups in the rural sections of the South. Italians are found in a few areas, chiefly along the coastal plain; a few settlements of Mexicans are found in eastern Texas and in southern Louisiana. The white farmers, generally, descend from the early settlers in Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia. Also, along the Gulf Coast and in the lower Mississippi Valley, are found many descendants of the French and Spanish settlers in those regions. Within recent years there has been considerable movement of central western farm families into different portions of the South.

The Negro is well distributed over the southern states, where he is the chief source of man labor. In numbers he outranks the whites in several counties of the southern states. As a tenant and a share-cropper he cultivates a large portion

of the land; his methods are usually of the old type, however, and his income correspondingly low. The Negroes, as a whole, occupy a decidedly inferior social and economic position in the rural life of the South compared with the white workers there or elsewhere.

Negro farm homes: The living quarters of the rural Negroes are generally small, rude, unpainted cabins, placed in rows along a road not far from the fields and barns of the farm, or indiscriminately scattered about over the farms. Naturally, aesthetic arrangements and home conveniences are minus quantities. The negro cabin and cabin arrangements have descended almost unchanged from slavery days. This indicates, to a certain extent at least, a lack of thrift on the part of the present-day free Negro, and a lack of ideals in tenant home construction on the part of the landowner. Until the South can pull itself out of its lethargy in details of this sort, it may well expect inefficiency and dependency to continue among great groups of its negro workers. That all conditions are not so depressing is an observable fact. Negro farm ownership is increasing with each decade, and negro farm agents throughout the southern states are producing outstanding results in methods of negro farming and home-making.

White farmers' homes: As one travels throughout the South, he wonders what has become of the fine old plantation homes of former days. Outside of a few localized areas in various sections of generally good soil, these old homes have gone into disuse and decay. The splitting up of the plantation system is largely responsible for the change. The old social life centering about the rural home has also changed. For the most part the southern farm home is a cottage, usually not modern.

A general social equality prevails among the whites in all the rural districts. In the agricultural regions, outside of the towns, there are, as yet, no means of accumulating sufficient fortune to give superiority to new families possessing talent for getting

money; the old rural gentry has not been succeeded, even in a comparatively remote degree, by a new gentry which rests its claims to social distinction upon large estates acquired in recent years.¹⁶

There are marked social cleavages between white and negro farmers. These are strictly enforced by separate institutions, such as schools, churches, and lodges. Economic equality is considered proper by the more progressive white leaders, but it is seldom attained.

Institutional life: In standards of church and school life, the rural South has been behind many other sections of the country. These institutions, usually, have been poorly supported and attended. The schools, however, are taking a lead over the churches; consolidation of schools is going on apace, with the result that several southern states, especially Louisiana and Alabama, have come forward with as good school systems as found anywhere. The church probably exercises a larger influence over the lives of the people than is the case elsewhere, but often this influence is unwholesome. Demagogery, superstition, and religious intolerance are too frequently seen to make the church the kind of leader it should be.

The rural villages and towns in the South are the chief centers of rural social life. The South is lacking in sizable towns with a brisk life and trade; it has, instead, numerous village centers and cross-roads-store places. About these a desultory, inefficient social life develops. The county seats are the farmers' chief centers from both the social and economic points of view. It has been to these that the old plantation owners retired when profits from agriculture declined, following the break-up of slavery.

The open country throughout vast stretches of the South presents an appearance of neglect. In many of the cut-over

¹⁶ Bruce, P. A., "The Old South and The New," quoted in John Phelan's "Readings in Rural Sociology," p. 55. Copyright, 1920, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

timber regions the settlement is sparse, and the soil is thin. In other areas of fertile lands the cabins of the Negroes and homes of the whites may be so numerous as to form almost a village street-effect along the main highways.

There is much in the future for rural life in the South; that it is catching a glimpse of the possibilities is seen in various ways through home and school improvements, better roads, and farm methods, and a more just handling of the race problem.

4. THE CENTRAL WEST AND THE CORN BELT

This part of our classification is meant to include practically all of the upper Mississippi Valley drainage basin. Within this area there is much similarity as to crops, farms, soils, climate, institutions, and people. General farming prevails; corn and live-stock constitute the backbone of the agriculture. Here we have an area which embraces most of the best farming land in America. In the central and western portions of this area prairie lands prevail; the rest of the area has been more or less heavily wooded; practically all of the timber has been removed and the land has been given over to improved farms. For a high percentage of land in farms, and for farm improvements, there is no similar area in all the world.

Professor Blackmar has well indicated the remarkable development of this great central area of the United States, when he says that for the most part its achievements in various lines have been accomplished in less than 100 years. He further states:

Behold this beautiful valley of the West, with its broad, fertile fields, yielding rich harvests of corn and wheat, and brightened by varied forms of fruit and flower. Farmhouses and schoolhouses dot the landscape, while towns and cities, with their marts of trade and busy industries, rise at intervals. Here are churches, colleges, and libraries, indicative of the education of the community; court-

houses, prisons, and jails, which speak of government, law, order, and protection. . . . Railroads bind together all parts of the nation, making exchange possible, and bringing to our doors the products of every clime. The telephone and the radio unite distant people with common knowledge, thought, and sentiment. Factories and mills line the streams or cluster in village and city, marking the busy industrial life.¹⁷

The character of the rural people: Much uniformity exists for the most part among the rural inhabitants of the Central West. With the exception of the foreign white groups mentioned earlier in the chapter, the people have come from the early American stocks, the descendants of whom flowed in successive waves of immigration from the east to the west. There is much uniformity, therefore, as concerns customs, traditions, and standards of life throughout this great area.

Institutional life: The Central West is dotted completely with rural schools, churches, towns, and villages. In fact, towns and villages are more thickly spread in the corn belt proper than in any other area in the United States.

In many sections of the Central West up-to-date and comprehensive consolidated rural schools have all but replaced the old time one-room schools; several counties in Indiana, Iowa, and Ohio are 100 per cent consolidated. Community or centralized high schools are also developing rapidly in Illinois and Ohio. Consolidated systems and community high schools are everywhere recognized as community institutions and are strong forces in developing community life. Farm organizations, county agricultural agents, and agricultural colleges and experiment stations are especially strong and are leaders in general farm life improvement.

The rural churches have showed a marked decline in many, if not most, areas. Surveys of church life have revealed that the rural church is undergoing a reorganization. There is a

¹⁷ Blackmar, F. W., "History of Human Society," pp. 5-6, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926.

tendency towards church federation in some quarters and a division of territory upon the basis of the larger parish in other areas. High ideals usually prevail towards religious life, and it is expected that the rural church of the Central West will soon reach a satisfactory status. Churches are constantly catching the spirit of the new day, and are demanding better support and leadership in order to meet the needs of the times.

Farms and labor: The farms, for the most part, are family-sized, averaging between 160 acres to 200 acres in area. While corn is the most universal crop grown, adjuncts to it, such as live-stock, meadow crops, and small grains, bulk almost as large. This sort of system balances the farm labor and farm income.

Most of the labor is taken care of by the farmer and his family; this means a steady and dependable supply; it also furnishes the boy on the farm with father-interest and tutorage. Hired labor is employed on the larger farms by the month and is housed and boarded in the farmer's home, or is given the use of a cottage and garden, milk and meat. Extra labor for harvests can usually be supplied from the numerous villages and towns.

Farm homes for the most part are commodious, but not modern. Improvements in homes and surroundings are catching up, however, with the improvements generally employed on the farm in the way of labor-saving machinery. A high percentage of the farmers own automobiles, have telephones in the home, and are getting radios. Although the agriculture is relatively more prosperous than for a similar area elsewhere, farm mortgages have been in considerable evidence since the World War, bank failures frequent, and tenancy has been a growing problem. Improved roads are rapidly interlacing all parts of the Central West.

5. THE WESTERN AND SOUTHWESTERN FARMS AND INTER-MOUNTAIN AREAS

While there are great dissimilitudes within this vast extent of territory, there are, at the same time, sufficient similarities to mark off from the rest of the country.

The ranch: Extensive farming in the nature of ranching characterizes the major land area of the western and southwestern agriculture. A rainfall deficient for general farming, except in favored valleys, gives rise to the grazing of sheep and cattle and to the demand for large land units; 10, 20, or 30 sections of land in one ranch are common. In the central and southern portion of the inter-mountain plateau region much of the land is desert and semi-desert and therefore little used except for very extensive grazing in its better portions.

Some conception of the distance problem and sparseness of settlement in the western and southwestern states may be gained from the statements of Professor Barger of the Montana Agricultural Experiment Station. In writing particularly of Montana, he says:

It is true that the state has a number of highly productive valleys where intensive farming is practiced, where the average ranch is small, and where the population is comparatively dense. But a larger state agricultural area is devoted to "dry farming" and grazing, with the ranches large, the population sparse, and the towns, even small ones, far apart. Some conception of this condition may be gained by considering the fact that Beaverhead County is more than four times as large as the entire state of New Jersey, yet the county has an estimated present population of only 5,800 as compared with New Jersey's 604,397. In fact, forty-eight of Montana's fifty-six counties are larger than New Jersey, thirty-two are larger than Delaware, and six are larger than Connecticut. To visualize such areas, with a total population of only five or ten

thousand people, will give one a proper setting for a consideration of the Montana rural community center.¹⁸

Under a ranching system the life of the ranch clusters about the ranch headquarters, which often becomes a good-sized unit of homes, sheds, pens, and barns, as the larger ranches employ upwards of 50 to 100 men. Towns established at wide distances apart are the chief centers for trade and social intercourse. In this connection Barger further relates:

One might think that no community social life would be found in such areas, but that a state of individualism would obtain. Such is not the case, however, for distance is not a barrier to social contacts in the West. So long as the "flivver" will run and the roads are passable, western people think nothing of driving from twenty-five to one hundred miles for business or pleasure.

The rural people in the West are keenly awake to the value of effective community organization as a means of achieving wholesome social life. Their most difficult problem has not been the lack of desire for community contacts, not the size of communities, but rather the finding of a suitable place to meet. . . .

In more than a hundred rural communities of Montana the need for a community center has been met by the erection of a special building usually called the "Community Hall." Some of them are situated in a village, where they serve both the villagers and the farmers, and are used as gymnasiums for the school pupils; more are located in the country, many of them ten, twenty-five and even fifty miles from any town or village of consequence.¹⁹

Dry-land farms: Dovetailing ranching, in all of the West near and beyond the 100th meridian are the dry-land farms. These are much smaller than ranches, and the endeavor is made to grow feed crops and grains. In many of these areas

¹⁸ Barger, J. Wheeler, "The Rural Community Center on a Changing Frontier," a paper for the joint meeting of the American Sociological Society and National Community Center Association, December, 1927, Washington, D. C.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

unsuspecting middle-western farmers have been led into economic disaster and ruin by attempting the same sort of practices they had followed in the corn belt states. Dry farmers have been compelled to break out a new system of agriculture the accomplishment of which can hardly yet be called complete or wholly satisfactory to farmers and farming. Gras states:

On the whole, it is not a very hopeful spectacle that meets our gaze in the dry farming district, whether in America or in Canada. A shabby, often very wretched, house is located near the center of a large holding of several hundreds of acres of parched ground. The owner is hoping, still hoping after several years of disappointment, that this season he will get a good crop. His neighbor has already gone, leaving to his creditors stock and buildings as well as land. This situation is not found in all dry farming districts, but it threatens to prevail in all during certain periods. So that some have thought that many of the dry farms should be thrown back into ranches, for which, they maintain, nature intended the land should be used.²⁰

Homes and people of the rural west: For the most part rural homes of ranching and dry-farming areas are lacking in adornments and conveniences. Tar-paper shacks and sod and adobe houses are still to be seen in many places. On some of the larger and more up-to-date ranches fine modern ranch homes may be found and good living quarters provided for the laborers.

The people of the western plains are generally of native American stock; foreign whites are sprinkled throughout the northwestern states and many Mexicans in the southwestern states.

²⁰ Gras, N. S. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 342-43.

6. THE IRRIGATED FARMS, FAVORED WESTERN VALLEYS, AND UPLANDS

In irrigated regions and favored valleys and uplands the most compact and closely settled rural life of the West is found. A high degree of social and economic life is carried on; towns and cities often occur at frequent intervals. Roads and railroads follow these areas, and the types of farming and rural living resemble the truck, fruit, dairy, and general farm regions of the central western and eastern states.

In Washington and Oregon vast apple orchards are found in the favored valleys, and wheat farms on the uplands; in California are citrus fruits and nuts, truck and other specialized production. In these three Pacific Coast states Japanese and Chinese have acquired considerable farming interests, especially in truck farms near the cities. In the well-watered and irrigated valleys of many of the western and southwestern states large quantities of alfalfa, grains, and truck are grown.

Irrigation farming calls for a high degree of community co-operation, close settlement on the land, and an intensive application of labor to land. This type of farming is very dependable; financial returns are quite frequent and regular during the year. Ordinarily, good farm improvements, homes, schools, churches, and roads are found accompanying irrigation farming. These all reflect stable economic conditions and a good spread of economic welfare.

SUMMARY

The influences of English rural life were prominent in the colonies of America. These influences lingered longer in some areas than in others, but on the whole, the early farmers soon threw off certain undesirable features, retained and refashioned desirable ones, and adapted themselves to their unique

conditions of life. These developments meant the working out of distinct modes of living and farming in the three colonial divisions of the colonies.

As the western lands opened for settlement, the land seekers and pioneers moved in a westerly direction, carrying with them the ideals of living and methods of farming they had learned in their respective colonies. These ideals and methods were in turn remolded and recast in the new environments, but enough of the old was always retained to give distinctive colorings to the new settlements. These processes have been repeated in countless instances as each new wave of settlement stretched across the western domain to the Pacific Ocean. Out of it all have developed such distinctive traits among American farmers and farm life conditions as to place both in a unique class to themselves.

Beneath certain broad, common generalities we find large and significant specific differences. Some one has said that farming in America possesses such variability that contact with the soil is its only common feature. The situation is scarcely as simple as this, however. But certainly our studies of comparative rural life are showing many illuminating localized and sectional differences which have to be taken into account in order to deal in a constructive manner with rural life problems. We have endeavored in this chapter to open up this relatively neglected phase of rural sociology in order to aid the reader in getting a better perspective of rural life in America. Chapter VII on "Psychological Factors" will carry the discussion to further conclusions.

CHAPTER IV

THE RURAL POPULATION

The rural population problem.—*Quantity and quality* are fundamental factors to be considered in any constructive treatment of a given population group. Much real concern has been felt in recent years in regard to the quantity factor of our rural population. The declining rural ratio in the national population censuses has also given alarm lest we run out of farmers to till the farms of the country. Emphasis has tended to drift towards a need of keeping up the old ratios of twenty or thirty years ago. Careful analysis of the situation, however, as it appears in general throughout the United States, leads us to feel that the maintenance of numbers is not our prime rural population problem today. A regular succession of numbers we must have, to be sure; and a normal increase is necessary to meet inevitable losses and declines, but the welfare of a society is more bound up in the quality factor than it is in the quantity factor.

A changing quality of population has more immediate significance to rural America than almost any other population factor. Professor Carver has pointed out:

In many parts of the country a distinct tendency is noticeable for the old population to give way to a new population of an entirely different type. In parts of New Jersey this is taking the form of a system of farm tenancy. In this case the difference between the old population, which still owns the land but lives in the towns, and the new tenant population, which tills the farms, is not so much one of race or language as of religion and social position. . . . In parts of New England the new population is

French Canadian, Italian, Portuguese, Polish and, in a few places, Swedish.¹

Throughout many of the better soil belts of the southern and central states, tenancy has been on a rapid increase within the last two decades. It generally, although not always, means supplanting a more effective social group by a less effective one. Increasing tenancy is not the only criterion of a quality change in the rural population. This factor is reflected in the racial composition of the population, in the social and cultural ideals of the people, and in their strength and interest in social and institutional life.

Professor Vogt has well said:

The building of an ideal rural civilization depends in large part upon the quality of the social aggregation. The following characteristics appear to be especially important: (1) a high degree of homogeneity; (2) a high degree of stability so far as the permanence of the social units is concerned; and (3) density. The first is necessary because no high degree of socialization is possible unless conditions are right for the development of the consciousness of kind. The second is necessary because a shifting population breaks up social relationships and necessitates the socially costly process of formation of new acquaintances. The absence of the third was at one time very important and is still a factor in certain sections.²

Our problem, as students of rural life, becomes that of enabling the country at large to set up ways and means of maintaining in the country districts as good quality of people as is to be found in our national life, and in numbers proportionate to the economic opportunities to sustain people of this character. Too great a number in proportion to the economic returns necessary to maintain high standards of life will in-

¹ *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1912, p. 21, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

² Vogt, Paul L., "Introduction to Rural Sociology," p. 123, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1922.

evitably lead to the retreat of the better class from the land, leaving their places to be filled by a class of a lower standard.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE RURAL POPULATION

We cannot plan intelligently for any given section or group of society until we know facts relating to the distribution of population and the density of settlement. Sometimes there are subtly hidden forces in the physical environment, or psycho-social factors operating, which dictate density and distribution.

Through the well-directed efforts of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life Studies of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in the United States Department of Agriculture, systematic studies of American rural populations are being made. This Division is working in conjunction with the Federal Census Bureau on schedules intended to obtain more definite information on actual farm population at each decennial census. Heretofore, the lines of distinction between rural and urban groups in the census enumerations have been drawn so vaguely and loosely that much of important sociological significance was lost. Until the results of such new schedule-making are well at hand, we shall have to depend upon certain localized studies made here and there by various agencies, and upon the broad generalizations of the census data.

The term "rural population."—In the census, the term "rural" generally meant all of that portion of the population living in the open country and in groups of less than 8000 inhabitants. With the 1910 census this was changed, and the term "rural" in the census reports now means all of that portion of the population in the open country and in places of less than 2500 population. Upon the basis of the former classification, the population of the country was 77.4 per cent rural in 1880, and 56.2 per cent rural in 1920. Upon the

basis of the latter classification, it was 70.5 per cent rural in 1880, and 48.5 per cent rural in 1920. During colonial days the population was practically 97 per cent rural.

As the term "rural" now stands in the census, it has a more useful significance than it had before 1910, but it still is too vague to have the greatest sociological value. It includes, besides farm people, persons living in the open country not farming, and persons in villages and towns up to incorporations of 2500 population. According to Dr. Fry, "The 1920 data for the entire country show that the number of incorporated places with fewer than 2500 inhabitants is 12,858, and that their total populations aggregate 8,971,549."³ Many of these people have rural interests and occupations, and many are in no sense rural inhabitants. Some of these centers may be mining centers, mill towns, manufacturing places, suburban residential centers, and the like. Then again there are a great number of unincorporated places, which, according to the census are all lumped as rural population. Among these one finds a distribution as to occupation similar to that found in incorporated places up to 2500 population.

The term "farm population."—In order to determine more definitely the group actually engaged in and directly connected with farming, the 1920 census undertook a classification of "farm population."

The farm population, as the term is here used, includes all persons actually living on farms, without regard to occupation, and also those farm laborers (and their families) who, while not living on a farm, nevertheless live in strictly rural territory, outside the limits of any city or other incorporated place.⁴

This is a still closer line of demarcation between urban and rural, but at the same time it contains some of the problems

³ Fry, C. L., "American Villagers," p. 26, George H. Doran and Company, New York, 1926.

⁴ Truesdell, Leon, "Farm Population of the United States," 1920, p. 35, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Washington, D. C., 1926.

listed above for the other classifications. As was there pointed out, all persons who live on farms are not engaged in farming, and there are farmers living in incorporated places.

Upon the basis of these various classifications, Table 1 of the 1920 census has been constructed and is given below:

TABLE 1

RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION CLASSIFIED AS FARM AND NONFARM,
POPULATION OUTSIDE INCORPORATED PLACES, AND TOTAL FARM
POPULATION, BY SECTIONS: 1920⁵

<i>Item</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>The North</i>	<i>The South</i>	<i>The West</i>
<i>Total population.....</i>	105,710,620	63,681,845	33,125,803	8,902,972
Rural population, total.....	51,406,017	23,367,533	23,821,975	4,216,509
Rural-farm, number.....	31,358,640	12,436,970	16,783,133	2,138,537
Per cent of total rural.....	61.0	53.2	70.5	50.7
Rural-nonfarm ("village population").....	20,047,377	10,930,563	7,038,842	2,077,972
Urban population, total.....	54,304,603	40,314,312	9,303,828	4,686,463
Urban-farm.....	255,629	166,925	44,701	44,003
Urban-nonfarm ("urban population, excluding urban-farm").....	54,048,974	40,147,387	9,259,127	4,642,460
Population outside incorporated places (sometimes called "country population"), number.....	42,436,776	18,127,592	20,972,746	3,336,438
Per cent of total population.....	40.1	28.5	63.3	37.5
Farm population, total.....	31,614,269	12,603,895	16,827,834	2,182,540
Per cent of total population.....	29.9	19.8	50.8	24.5
Per cent of rural population.....	61.5	53.9	70.6	51.8
Per cent of population outside incorporated places.....	74.5	69.5	80.2	65.4
Per cent of males gainfully employed who were in agricultural occupations.....	29.0	19.8	48.7	27.0

We see that the total population of 105,710,620 for the United States in 1920 was divided between rural and urban under the old classification into 51,406,017 for the former, and

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

54,304,603 for the latter. The so-called "farm" population comprises 31,614,269 persons, or 29.9 per cent of the total national population. Inasmuch as this group approaches more closely than any other census group to a homogeneous rural population, we shall be interested in its distribution and movements in so far as the new data available on this group permit. The rural-nonfarm ("village population") comprises

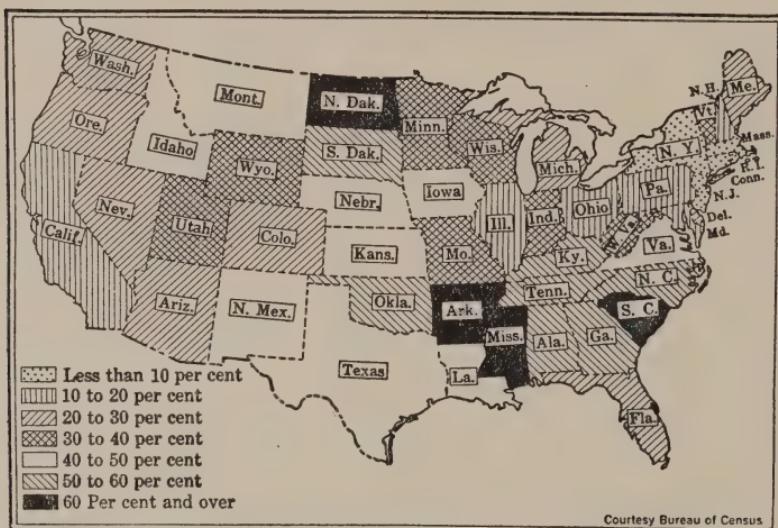


FIG. 2.—Percentage of Total Population Represented by Farm Population, by States in the United States, 1920 ⁶

20,047,377 inhabitants, or 19.0 per cent of the total national population. This is an important group which will receive more detailed analysis and consideration in the chapter on "Town and Country Relations."

Figure 2 graphically indicates for the United States the relative distribution of the farm population by states. In the South, generally, the farm population percentage rate is 50 per cent to 60 per cent and over of total population; in Vir-

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

ginia, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Idaho, and Montana it is 40 per cent to 50 per cent.

The great agricultural states of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Minnesota have a larger urban population than farm population due to the presence of large cities and many smaller incorporated places.

Population density.—The density of the farm population is well illustrated by Figure 3 for the number of farms in the

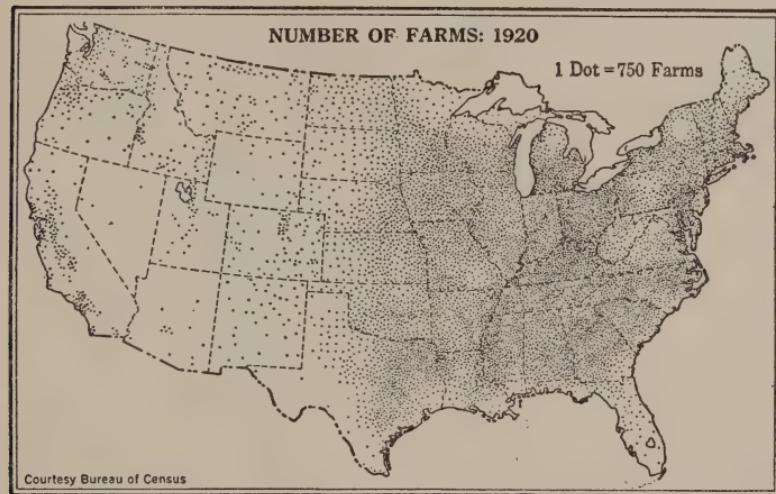


FIG. 3.—Number of Farms in the United States, 1920 ⁷

United States in 1920. Each dot on the plate represents 750 farms. When we remember that each farm usually includes one or more farm homes, and that the average farm family contains about 4.5 persons, we get a striking picture of the density of the farm population. The southern states and the great central western states contain the thickest settlement of the people on the land. In these states we shall also find the farmers' towns and villages more numerous than elsewhere in the United States.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

Figure 3 also illustrates the portions of the various states where the farm population is densest; this is well brought out in the cases of the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Maine, where the greater portion of the farm population is found in the southern parts of the states.

The average density of the whole population varies from 566.4 persons per square mile for the state of Rhode Island, to .7 persons per square mile for the state of Nevada. Iowa, an important agricultural state, has a density of 43.2 persons per square mile, and Georgia, with a large negro population, has a density of 49.3 persons per square mile. These figures aid us in more accurately evaluating the data contained in Figure 3.

COMPOSITION AND TRAITS OF THE RURAL AND FARM POPULATIONS

In an area as heterogeneous of stocks and cultures as America, it is important to have a knowledge of the general trait complexes of the people before attempting sociological developments. Professor Ross has stated that "The traits and tendencies of society are in no small degree determined by its human composition."⁸

Analysis of rural America from the standpoint of nationality groups alone would assist materially in an interpretation of many prevailing local traits and tendencies. The conservatism of some groups, stolidity of others, co-operative inclinations of others, clannishness and suspiciousness of still others all play a large part in giving stamps of different sorts to the rural population.

Age levels, sex distribution, marital status, birth rates, and death rates are other important factors.

Figure 4 shows the per cent of native white farmers in the

⁸ Ross, E. A., "Principles of Sociology," p. 3, The Century Company, New York, 1920.

United States in 1920; they constitute over 90 per cent of the farm groups in the states of Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania.

The foreign born farmers of the United States, according to the 1920 census data, are found chiefly in the western and northwestern states. In North Dakota they comprise 40 per cent to 50 per cent of the farm population. In the eastern states, the farm population of Connecticut is 30 per cent to

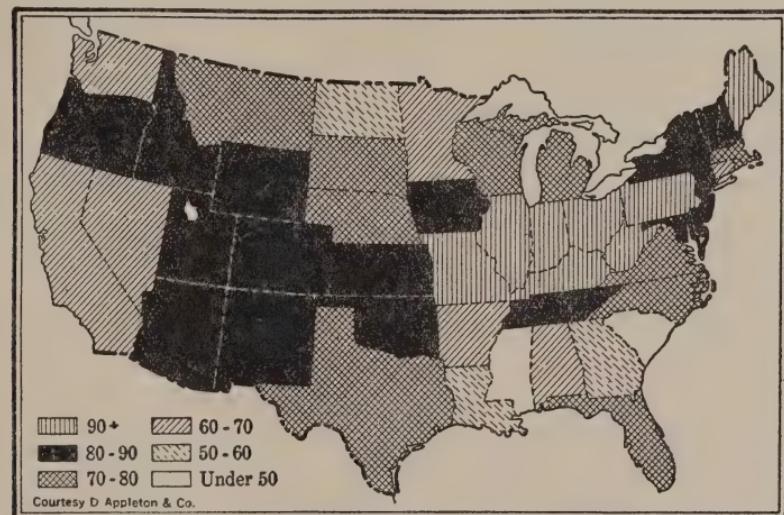


FIG. 4.—Per Cent of Farmers in the United States, Native White, 1920⁹

40 per cent foreign born, and of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Jersey, 20 per cent to 30 per cent foreign born.

The distribution of some of the important racial or nationality stocks is interesting. Mr. Truesdell, of the Census Bureau, states:

The farm operators of German birth, who in 1920 numbered 140,667, or more than twice the number from any other foreign country, are rather widely distributed, the number exceeding 10,000 in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa, and also exceeding 5,000 in

⁹ Vogt, Paul L., "Introduction to Rural Sociology," p. 125, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1922.

seven other States. Farm operators from the Scandinavian countries, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, were particularly numerous in a group of States including Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, the Dakotas, Montana, and Washington. Farmers from Russia were especially numerous in North and South Dakota and Kansas; farmers from Finland, in Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Washington; farmers from Italy, in California, New York, New Jersey, and Louisiana; farmers from Poland, in Wisconsin, Michigan, New York, and Minnesota; farmers from Austria, in Texas, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania; and farmers from Canada, in the States along the Canadian border.¹⁰

The negro farm population in the United States is confined almost wholly to twelve southern states, including Texas. In the states of Louisiana and Georgia they compose 40 per cent to 50 per cent of the farm population, and in the states of Mississippi and South Carolina they compose 50 per cent to 60 per cent of the farm population. In general, throughout the South, they form 30 per cent of the farm population and 24.2 per cent of the urban population.

At the beginning, and during the settlement of the colonies in America, considerable racial homogeneity prevailed; this helped to stamp our American institutions with a singleness of purpose and with a distinctive quality all their own. Rural America was, and generally has been, able to keep uppermost and predominant her typical social customs and practices. The cities of America, however, have at times been heavily burdened with the absorption process of raw immigrant hordes. As between the two, rural America has maintained a more unbroken line of a traditional heritage.

Dr. Von Engeln states:

The most pertinent illustration of the naturalization of the individual is afforded where the newcomer has reason to emulate the ways of the earlier residents, and where the influx of aliens is by individuals and families, and not by wandering hordes. . . . The

¹⁰ Truesdell, Leon E., *op. cit.*, p. 110.

growth in population of the United States for a long period of years was by such individual and family units, and the pioneer settlement of the country was accomplished by English-speaking people.¹¹

Dr. Von Engeln shows that other groups have tended to leave their respective stamps in certain localities of the United States. He states further:

It is true that French, Spanish, and Dutch-speaking peoples were early rivals of the English for possession of the country. But the French were led to become traders and trappers, for the most part they never had a real hold on the soil; the Spanish, who were adventurers and free-booters, had even less connection with the land. Where either of these people settled in numbers their influence still lingers, as in Louisiana and in the Southwestern States. In these regions they, not the English, constituted the dominant strain that determined the way of the environmental adaptation. On the other hand, it is conceded that the Dutch settlers along the Hudson yielded to the English, primarily because they realized that the institutions of their English neighbors were superior to their own, hence worthy of emulation.¹²

While, in the main, English customs and institutions have been implanted throughout the United States, we have today in some of our foreign groups in the rural sections as well as in the cities problems of Americanization and assimilation. On the other hand, some of these foreign groups in rural America have taught us valuable lessons in citizenship, industry, thrift, co-operation, and family life.

Age distribution of the farm population.—The rural families out-distance the urban families in rearing children. The 1920 census shows that children under fifteen years of age form a considerably larger percentage of the farm population than they do of the urban population, according to Truesdell. After the age of twenty years the disparity changes and we

¹¹ Von Engeln, O. D., "Inheriting the Earth," pp. 54. Copyright, 1922, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

find a larger group between the ages of twenty and forty-four in urban centers than in the rural areas. This phenomenon places a heavy burden upon the farm, for it gives off continually to the cities a large crop of young people in whom it has invested for their rearing, education, and training. The farm receives no compensating back-flow of population from the city equivalent in strength, youth, and promise. With this rich contribution in human assets the city has every reason to be characterized by energy, initiative, and ambition.

Table 2 shows about 11 per cent more children under fifteen years of age in the farm population than in the urban

TABLE 2

FARM, VILLAGE, AND URBAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY AGES:
1920¹³

Age	Total Population	Farm Population	Village Population	Urban Population (Excluding Urban-farm)	Per Cent Distribution			
					Total	Farm	Village	Urban
All ages...	105,710,620	31,614,269	20,047,377	54,048,974	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5 years...	11,573,230	4,003,330	2,317,445	5,252,455	10.9	12.7	11.6	9.7
5 to 9 years.....	11,398,075	4,134,740	2,238,670	5,024,665	10.8	13.1	11.2	9.3
10 to 14 years...	10,641,137	4,003,006	2,001,056	4,637,075	10.1	12.7	10.0	8.6
15 to 19 years...	9,430,556	3,289,414	1,719,284	4,421,858	8.9	10.4	8.6	8.2
20 to 24 years...	9,277,021	2,503,932	1,689,804	5,083,285	8.8	7.9	8.4	9.4
25 to 34 years...	17,157,684	4,042,936	3,101,111	10,013,637	16.2	12.8	15.5	18.5
35 to 44 years...	14,120,838	3,539,105	2,559,298	8,022,435	13.4	11.2	12.8	14.8
45 to 54 years...	10,498,493	2,833,731	1,892,190	5,772,572	9.9	9.0	9.4	10.7
55 to 64 years...	6,531,672	1,841,610	1,288,554	3,401,508	6.2	5.8	6.4	6.3
65 to 74 years...	3,463,511	996,573	817,402	1,649,536	3.3	3.2	4.1	3.1
75 to 84 years...	1,259,339	343,097	336,732	579,510	1.2	1.1	1.7	1.1
85 years and over	210,365	64,127	54,378	91,860	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2
Age not reported.	148,699	18,668	31,453	98,578	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2

¹³ Truesdell, Leon E., *op. cit.*, p. 68.

population, and just the reverse proportions for persons between the ages of twenty years and forty-four years.

The excess of youth from the farms is scarcely able to reach the cities before the later teens or early twenties; before this time young people are receiving their families' and communities' investment in them; after this they begin creating and building. It is unwise to attempt to stop much of this flow of youth to the cities, as it is natural and inevitable. Vastly more children are born and reared in rural areas than can reasonably find places for themselves in the rural industry. The city, on the other hand, offers a considerably larger field for population absorption.

In the age groups from forty-five years and upwards, we find a more even balance between the farm population and the urban population. But we find in the villages a larger percentage of persons in these age groups than we find in either the farm population or the urban population. Mr. Truesdell states his explanation of this, as follows:

It is well known that in many parts of the country elderly farmers in great numbers either sell or rent their farms and retire to a near-by town. It may be that this influx of retired farmers to the towns and villages is mainly responsible for this excess of old people in the village population. At any rate the excess does not appear in any of the States where manufacturing is the dominant industry and it does appear in practically all of the States where farming is to any marked extent the outstanding occupation.¹⁴

Sex composition.—The 1920 census shows that in the total population of the United States, there are 104 males to every 100 females; in the farm population, 109.1 males to every 100 females; in the village population, 106.5 males to every 100 females, and in the urban population, 100.3 males to every 100 females.

The figures in Table 3 show the ratios between the sexes

¹⁴ Truesdell, Leon E., *op. cit.*, p. 70.

TABLE 3

FARM, VILLAGE, AND URBAN POPULATION—NUMBER OF MALES TO 100
FEMALES, BY AGE, BY SECTIONS: 1920¹⁵

Age	Total Population	Farm Population	Village Population	Urban Population	Total Population	Farm Population	Village Population	Urban Population
	United States				The North			
All ages.....	104.0	109.1	106.5	100.3	103.4	112.6	103.9	100.5
Under 5 years.....	102.5	103.5	102.1	101.9	102.5	104.0	102.2	102.0
5 to 9 years.....	101.9	104.1	101.2	100.5	101.8	104.8	101.4	100.7
10 to 14 years.....	101.8	107.1	99.8	98.4	101.5	108.1	100.3	99.2
15 to 19 years.....	98.3	108.0	97.5	91.9	98.5	114.5	98.3	93.1
20 to 24 years.....	95.3	102.6	100.6	90.3	95.5	113.0	97.5	90.9
25 to 34 years.....	102.1	100.6	106.7	101.4	103.5	107.6	103.2	102.6
35 to 44 years.....	108.9	106.0	116.6	107.8	109.1	110.0	111.6	108.3
45 to 54 years	116.7	127.2	123.9	109.7	111.8	122.7	114.6	108.1
55 to 64 years.....	112.8	137.9	111.9	101.6	107.6	135.1	105.5	100.1
65 to 74 years.....	106.5	140.9	105.5	90.5	100.9	139.9	101.4	88.9
75 to 84 years.....	92.7	110.6	105.8	77.2	88.9	111.1	101.6	75.5
85 years and over.....	76.4	87.5	88.8	63.2	73.4	91.2	84.6	61.3
All ages.....	102.6	105.0	104.8	96.7	114.6	122.8	127.4	105.8
Under 5 years.....	102.3	103.0	101.8	101.0	103.3	104.4	102.9	102.7
5 to 9 years.....	102.1	103.5	100.8	99.3	102.2	104.7	102.0	100.7
10 to 14 years.....	102.3	106.4	98.4	95.1	102.1	108.3	102.9	97.8
15 to 19 years.....	97.0	103.2	94.4	86.4	102.5	116.1	106.3	94.0
20 to 24 years.....	93.0	94.2	99.6	87.1	104.4	118.8	121.7	92.8
25 to 34 years.....	96.0	92.5	104.8	94.8	112.8	118.9	131.1	104.0
35 to 44 years.....	102.8	98.8	113.5	101.6	127.0	133.2	154.3	115.6
45 to 54 years	123.3	128.4	130.1	112.6	133.3	148.0	166.1	118.0
55 to 64 years.....	119.1	135.3	112.6	100.7	135.5	174.6	160.5	115.0
65 to 74 years.....	114.1	136.4	103.6	89.1	129.4	189.3	152.4	105.4
75 to 84 years.....	96.5	106.9	103.7	75.6	115.8	138.4	160.3	94.3
85 years and over.....	76.3	80.0	86.6	61.1	105.3	125.2	140.3	84.7

¹⁵ Truesdell, Leon E., *op. cit.*, p. 89.

for each group of the total population, and of the farm, village, and urban population in the North, South, and West. The ratios reflect the relative sizes of the numbers of persons in the different age groups.

A careful study of Table 3 shows a number of interesting facts concerning sex proportions in the population. It will be observed that more girls than boys leave the farm between the ages of fifteen years and twenty-four years. The age period of twenty-five years to thirty-four years shows almost an even balance between the sexes in the national farm population. From this period on, however, the males are in excess in the farm population, with increasing ratios, until old age. We find in the urban population that the females out-number the males in a far greater number of cases than in the farm population. The surplus of males in the farm population is greatest in the western states and in sections where there is a high percentage of foreign-born.

It will be noted in Table 3 that there is an excess of females in the farm population of the South beginning with the age period of twenty years to twenty-four years and extending to and including the age period of thirty-five years to forty-four years. In both the village population and urban population groups of the South, this phenomenon commences at an earlier age period and ceases at an earlier age period than elsewhere. This is, without doubt, due in large part, at least, to the high ratios of negro population in the southern states. In explanation of the excess of females in the negro population, Dr. Reuter states:

The excess of women in the Negro group is due to the excess number in the mulatto division of the race, which, in turn, seems largely to be due to the fact that light-colored mulatto men more often than the women change their racial status and pass as white men.¹⁶

¹⁶ Reuter, E. B., "Population Problems," p. 29, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1923.

The excess of males over females among the foreign-born in rural districts may run as high as 40 per cent. This is due largely to the fact that many of our later immigrants have been single men; much of this immigration has contained about 25 per cent more males than females.

Farming is an occupation in which women, on their own resources, cannot very satisfactorily engage. It calls for a home and a family; hence when women in the rural areas do not marry, or when they become widowed, they tend to migrate to the villages and urban centers where they find many more opportunities awaiting their abilities.

Any excessive unbalance between the sexes within a population group makes for undesirable social conditions. Generally, most forms of agriculture do not suffer from serious disproportions in the numbers of the sexes. Frontier communities, ranching, lumbering, and the developmental projects, however, tend to cause an unbalance in the numbers of the sexes with males greatly out-numbering females. This brings a train of unique social problems for such areas.

Marital condition and size of families.—Family life is a basic asset to American agricultural conditions. Unlike most other occupations, farming is both a mode of living and a business. The 1920 census shows that 59.5 per cent of the males and 64.3 per cent of the females over fifteen years of age living in the rural districts are married. In contrast to this, 58.9 per cent of the males and 57.6 per cent of the females over fifteen years of age living in urban areas are married. Certain of the early marrying foreign-born groups help swell the urban ratios beyond what they would be in the native population. We also noted in a former section of this chapter that, during the later teens and early twenties, there is a large migration of young people from the farm to the city; these people are just entering the principal marrying ages and do, therefore, add to the urban ratios.

On the whole, the rural residents marry more, at a slightly

earlier age, and have more children per family than do the urban residents. The broad difference in the sizes of urban and rural families is not as great as one might expect, and as was formerly the case. Table 4 shows the number of persons per family in 1920 for urban and rural areas by geographic divisions.

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF PERSONS PER FAMILY FOR URBAN AND RURAL AREAS BY
GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS ON BASIS OF 1920 CENSUS¹⁷

<i>Geographic Sections</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
United States.....	4.2	4.5
New England.....	4.4	4.1
Middle Atlantic.....	4.4	4.3
East North Central.....	4.2	4.2
West North Central.....	4.1	4.4
South Atlantic.....	4.3	4.9
East South Central.....	4.0	4.7
West South Central.....	4.3	4.7
Mountain.....	4.1	4.2
Pacific.....	3.8	3.9

Family life in the country contains a greater unity than it does in the city. The census figures for 1920 show that there is one divorcee to every 114 married women living in rural areas, whereas in urban areas there is one divorcee to every 60 married women. Professor Hawthorn sums up the situation very aptly in the following statements:

1. The greater difficulty for a woman to secure a living as a divorcee in rural districts than in the city. This would tend to make her less independent and more disposed to put up with unsatisfactory conditions.

¹⁷ Sims, N. L., "Elements of Rural Sociology," p. 247, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1928.

2. Husband and wife co-operate more, and the farm family acts as a domestic economic unit. This promotes a greater amount of family solidarity.
3. Less amount of dissipating life . . . (in the country than in the city).
4. The divorce case carries more stigma and disgrace in a community where the parties are known, and where their family history is common property. Thus, in the country, the social standards exercise a more restraining influence upon the husband and wife.
5. A large number of country families bear children, and children always mitigate the tendency toward divorce.¹⁸

Undoubtedly the really big influence is the patriarchal nature of the farm family. Under such a type of family life the wife customarily accepts without challenge what the wife in a more modern type of family will not accept. The conventions in the country would fail to support a wife who rebelled at dutifully taking her place in the regular round of tasks always present in rural homes.

Birth rates, death rates, and longevity.—The rates of natural increase of births over deaths, and the length of life of a people are important sociological data. Many of the factors basic to these phenomena will be discussed in Chapter XIX.

Table 5 gives the urban and rural birth rates and death rates per 1000 population in the United States birth registration area for the five year period 1920 to 1924 inclusive. The table shows that there has been a fall in birth and death rates in both urban and rural areas within that period. The decrease in each case has been slightly greater in urban than in rural areas. Urban areas have lowered their death rates 1.5, whereas rural areas have lowered theirs 1.1 from 1920 to 1924. The birth rate fell in urban areas 1.0 during this

¹⁸ Hawthorn, H. B., "The Sociology of Rural Life," p. 143, The Century Company, New York, 1926.

period, and only 0.2 in rural areas. These data represent the conditions that have been developing in the United States within the last ten or fifteen years.

TABLE 5

RURAL AND URBAN BIRTH AND DEATH RATES (PER 1000 POPULATION)
IN UNITED STATES BIRTH REGISTRATION AREA, 1920-1924¹⁹

	1924		1923		1922		1921		1920	
	Birth	Death								
Urban.....	22.8	12.5	22.3	12.9	22.2	12.4	24.0	12.2	23.8	14.0
Rural.....	22.4	11.1	22.5	11.9	22.8	11.3	24.7	11.2	23.6	12.2

The decline in birth rates has been a rather universal phenomenon coincident with the great growth of cities. The decline seems to have been initiated in cities and has spread, but at a much slower rate, into rural areas. Both social and economic factors lie back of this development. There is developing a widespread desire for better reared children; this almost generally means fewer children per family, postponed marriage, and a fair competence before having children. In urban areas social aspirations are more pronounced than in rural areas; for certain urban families, therefore, who strongly possess the desire to climb socially and spend almost wholly for self, children are an impediment.

Without a doubt, some of the greatest reasons for larger families in the country are the opportunities there afforded of giving the child a chance to help rear himself; play spaces are numerous, apartments in which children are banned are unknown, undesirable groups and gangs are relatively scarcer, and the child holds a larger place in both the economic and social life of the industry and of the home.

¹⁹ Statistical Bureau, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York, April 22, 1927.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company makes the following comparison of longevity factors between country and city:

Life is longer and health is better for those who live in the country and the smaller towns than for the city dwellers. The rural boy, at birth, has a life expectancy of $7\frac{3}{4}$ years more than his urban brother and the country girl may expect to live 6 years longer than the city girl.²⁰

Mortality figures show the average age at death to be slightly under 60 years for farmers, and for all occupations, it is placed close to 48 years. Certain confining and hazardous occupations show a relatively early age at death.

Urban death rates have been catching up with the rural death rates since the introduction of modern sanitation, hospitalization, and preventive medicine. The cities are all better organized than the country for utilizing these adjuncts to health conservation.

Overlapping of generations.—It has been stated above that rural residents have a greater life expectancy than city residents, and that they also have a relatively high average age at death. Table 3 shows a slightly larger percentage of persons in the age group of 65 years to 74 years in the farm population than in the urban population. From this age group upward, the farm population and urban population are shown to contain the same percentages. The village population group, however, contains a higher percentage of persons in these higher age groups than either the farm or urban populations. These ratios will vary for different divisions of the country. In the division of Western States the age groups of 65 years to 74 years and upward show a larger percentage of persons in the villages and urban centers than on the farms. In the division of Southern States there is a striking evenness of the percentage distribution for these higher

²⁰ *Statistical Bulletin No. 2, Vol. VI, p. 1, New York, February, 1925.*

age groups between the farm, village, and urban populations; while in the division of Northern States, the farm population contains a higher percentage than the city, with the village standing between.

Inasmuch as there is a tendency for old people to linger on the farms, or in the villages nearby, in view of the longer life of rural residents, and the higher age at death, there is a greater overlapping of generations in the country than in the city.

This hold which the older generations maintain in rural districts doubtless contributes to the conservatism of such areas; villages and small towns are especially noted for their conservative ways. Here we have in the person of one individual, the retired and elderly farmer, a double dose of conservatism for the village.

The overlapping of generations, however, has its decided advantages. The older generation, close at hand, to impart its wisdom to the younger generation is of almost unlimited value. Mrs. Anna Garlan Spenceer has sensed the social significance of overlapping generations, for she states in her book, "The Family and Its Members," as follows:

The ideal picture of a family always has in its background, if not in the very front, an old man and an old woman, benevolent and sweet-natured, who can be depended upon to be more indulgent to the children than even the father or mother, and who appear always in family emergencies to renew their youth of service in behalf of the younger generation.

What is thus ideally pictured is a fact in thousands of families. No one can say that it is always best to have three generations under one roof, but all who have had a happy family experience believe that the grandparents should be "handy-by," to use the Scotch phrase. The grandparents' house in the country is best of all, where all family and national holidays can be celebrated with due form and in accordance with ancient tradition.²¹

²¹ Spencer, Anna G., "The Family and Its Members," pp. 97-98, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1923.

Literacy of the rural population.—There is an inexcusable amount of illiteracy in the rural population of the United States. Happily the situation has been changing within recent years, due largely to campaigns for better rural schools, and the desire on the part of the farmer to become better informed concerning his business.

Table 6 shows the illiteracy percentage of the urban and rural populations in the United States for selected population classes for 1920:

TABLE 6

ILLITERACY IN THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES
FOR SELECTED POPULATION CLASSES, 1920

The Urban Population

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>All Classes</i>	<i>Native Parentage</i>	<i>Foreign or Mixed Parentage</i>	<i>Foreign born</i>	<i>Negro</i>
10 years and over...	4.4	0.8	0.5	13.0	13.4
10 to 15 years.....	0.5	0.3	0.2	1.8	2.8
16 to 20 years.....	1.3	0.5	0.4	4.7	6.1
21 years and over...	5.5	1.0	0.6	13.8	16.0

The Rural Population

10 years and over...	7.7	3.8	1.4	13.3	28.5
10 to 15 years.....	3.8	1.6	1.2	11.9	14.2
16 to 20 years.....	5.2	2.3	1.3	13.5	19.0
21 years and over....	9.1	4.8	1.5	13.3	35.7

It will be observed in Table 6 that 7.7 per cent of the rural population above ten years of age, and 9.1 per cent above 21 years of age are classed as illiterate. The ratios for the urban population, 4.4 per cent and 5.5 per cent respectively, are far from satisfactory for an enlightened democracy.

The negro population of the South and the poor white population of the lower Appalachian Mountain regions constitute a heavy charge upon the rural ratio. In some of the better

farming states of the country, on the other hand, the ratio falls as low as 1.1 per cent. Better school systems for the rural areas, a longer period of school attendance, and a eugenical program which reduces the apparently high percentage of feeble-minded in some of the isolated rural districts will aid in developing a high degree of rural literacy.

The occupational factor.—Agriculture is a term used to cover a large number of different occupations having to do with plant and animal production. Some of the various branches of agriculture have become so specialized as to absorb the efforts of great numbers of people. From a strictly economic and sociological point of view, the different divisions of agricultural production contain many and divergent interests; their demands for capital investment, employment of the sexes, and opportunities for social life will vary.

The census for 1920 shows 10,661,410 persons ten years of age and over engaged in agricultural occupations in the United States. Within this group we have some of the following outstanding divisions:

Farmers, (general farm)	6,004,580
Dairy farmers	118,813
Stock raisers	77,559
Truck farmers (gardeners)	98,591
Fruit growers	55,402
Poultry raisers	14,116
Farm managers and foremen	92,324
General farm laborers	3,905,395
On home farm	1,850,119
Working out	2,055,276
Racial Status of Farmers:	
Negroes	1,521,229
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage	1,287,762
Foreign born white	824,429
Native white parentage	5,877,833
Other colored	67,026

The general farmers of native white parentage are, by far, the most numerous. It is these farmers, and their social and economic conditions, that we usually have in mind in discussing the problems of the American farmer. It is the general farmer who is widely scattered over the country, producing a variety of products, and interested in many activities. At the same time, it is the general farmer who is so difficult to organize. The specialized farmers, like fruit growers, truck farmers, and poultry farmers, are more localized and more effectively organized.

Negro farmers are confined largely to the cotton belt and the southern states, and present definite social, economic, and educational problems. The farmers of foreign extraction have been discussed in another section.

MOVEMENTS OF THE FARM POPULATION

There are several phases to the movement of the farm population: *first*, the movement of persons from farms to urban areas; *second*, the movement from urban areas onto farms; *third*, the movement from farm to farm within the community; and *fourth*, the movement to a farm in another community, state, or region.

The first one of these movements has occupied the thoughts of people to a far greater extent than the other three. All four types are of great importance and consequence to the welfare of the country, the state, and the nation. We are just beginning to make definite studies and analyses leading to an evaluation and understanding of these movements. When we have the facts in hand, we shall be in a position intelligently to direct and guide them for the best interests of all concerned.

The movement from farm to urban areas.—This movement has been on for a long time. E. C. Young, of Cornell University, states:

Ever since the beginning of the growth of cities, the movement of population from country to city has increased. The extent of this movement has been one of the best indices of the advance of civilization. The present large proportion of the people engaged in occupations other than farming has been made possible by increased efficiency and better methods in farming, as well as by the development of the world's richest farm lands.²²

He further shows by tables of productions "that the efficiency of farm labor in the United States, as measured by the production of grain, has increased 82 per cent in fifty years,"²³ from 1870 to 1920. This has meant a constant release, to city life, of thousands of farm-reared persons. Food production, which characterizes the farming industry, unlike the production of services and commodities, which characterize urban industry, is very inelastic. The powers of the world to absorb food productions are strictly limited; consequently the producers of food tend to decrease in number as they increase in efficiency. It has been stated by a prominent educator in Iowa that some 12,000 farm boys come to maturity annually on Iowa farms, but that the farms of Iowa are able, under prevailing economic conditions, profitably to absorb only 8000 of this number. The other 4000 must look to urban life for their occupations. The problem of the cityward movement of the rural population in a nutshell is that of seeing first of all that as good stock remains for replenishing the countryside as leaves to help build city life and industry.

The United States Department of Agriculture²⁴ has estimated that 2,155,000 persons moved from farms to cities, towns, and villages during the year 1926, and that 1,135,000 persons moved to farms, thus making a net movement of 1,-

²² Young, E. C., "The Movement of Farm Population," *Bulletin No. 426*, p. 5, Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York, 1923.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁴ United States Department of Agriculture, *Office of Information, Press Service*. Released for Publication, Wednesday afternoon, April 20, 1927, Washington, D. C.

020,000 persons away from farms. Births on farms during 1926 are estimated at 658,000 and deaths at 287,000, leaving a natural increase of 371,000 persons, which reduced the loss due to cityward movement to 649,000 persons. The Department's figures for 1925, revised on the basis of the 1925 agricultural census, show a net loss of 441,000 persons in the farm population for that year. A net loss in the farm population of 182,000 persons for 1924 was reported in an earlier Press Service publication of the Department. All geographic sections of the country show net decreases in farm population for the year 1926.

In totality these losses are not large and, from the point of view of our increasing agricultural production, are keeping pace with the developing efficiency of farm life. A closer study of the situation, however, shows that some sections near industrial centers are being unduly drained of rural residents, thus giving local conditions of rural decline.

Reasons for the cityward movement.—Dr. C. J. Galpin, of the United States Department of Agriculture, has made a recent illuminating study of the causes and phases of the past and present conditions of persons making the changes from farm life to urban life, and from urban life to farm life. The findings of his study of 2745 farm operators who left farming for city, town, or village will be given, in part.²⁵

These persons were found scattered in every state in the Union. At the time of leaving the farms, 16 per cent were tenants, and 84 per cent were owners. Ninety per cent of the 2733 farmers who reported the year of their going to the city, town, or village migrated during the five-year period, 1922-1926. The peak year was 1925 with 37.1 per cent of the total number leaving the farm; the year 1924 followed, with 24 per cent leaving; the year 1923 saw 15.5 per cent

²⁵ Galpin, C. J., "Analysis of Population to and from Farms," *Mimeographed Circular*, United States Department of Agriculture, October, 1927, Washington, D. C.

leave, and in the year 1926 only 7.2 per cent left. Thus is seen the effect of the agricultural depression following 1920.

Dr. Galpin summarizes for us two important aspects of the movement as follows:

A. Characteristics of the families:

1. More than half the migrants still hold title to farms.
2. The migrants had, on the average, between one and two of their children with them in the city, town, or village home. The average number of children in each family was a little over three.
3. These farmers were evidently farmers of long standing, on the whole.
4. These farmers were about equally divided among those who had never done anything but farm, and those who had tried other occupations.
5. Most of these farmers had been cultivators of moderately large farms.
6. One-third of those who still owned farms after moving received over half their present income from farms.
7. About one-third of the farms of those who still own their farms are operated by tenants who are related.
8. The migrants were both foreign born and American born.
9. Two-thirds of these farmers had either finished the eighth grade of the elementary school or had had some high school education.
10. The schooling of the children of these farmers had gone further than that of the farmer, for three-quarters of the children had either finished the eighth grade or had been in high school.

B. Reasons for these migrations:

1. Not being able to make ends meet, while on the farm, was the chief reason that a full third of these migrants gave for leaving.
2. Physical disability led to the going of one-quarter of the farmers.

3. To gain better schooling for their children ranked high as an inducement with both owners and tenants.
4. Financial ability to live in the city counted with one farmer out of every forty.

The results of this study help us to clear up our thinking considerably concerning the migrants, other than the excess of young people, who go from farms to urban centers. Space prevents a discussion of the above statements, which are, however, plain and to the point.

The migration from urban areas to the farm.—Dr. Galpin, in the circular noted above, made a study of 1167 persons who left the city, town, or village for the farm. These people were taken at random, as were the others, and represent every state in the Union except Arizona, Delaware, and New Mexico. His summary of this study is given below:²⁶

Characteristics of the migrants:

1. The outstanding fact about these persons is that 86.7 per cent previously had farm experience.
2. One-third and more of those who had had previous farm experience had owned farms before, and one-third had tried their hand at being tenants.
3. These migrants had an average of 2.1 children to the family, classified as follows: 1.9 to families of owners; 2.5 to tenants; 2.4 to hired men.
4. These were men in the early prime of life.
5. About two-thirds of these migrants found that they could make a better living on the farm than in the city.

Summary of inducements causing the migration:

1. Belief that better health would be found for parents and children induced many to give up life and work in city, town, or village.
2. High cost of living in cities weighed with those who became hired men on farms.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

3. That they were tired of city life induced a considerable percentage of these people to seek the farm.
4. The farm's offer of an independent life prevailed with others.

These are the best analyses we have to date on the movement of urban people to the farms. While they include only a small number of persons, the random selection and widely-spread representation certainly furnish us with valuable suggestions.

Farm population movements from farm to farm within the community.—There is very little available information relating to this type of movement in the farm population. In moderate amounts it is valuable in aiding farmers in finding congenial neighborhoods, good churches or schools, and farms more suitable to their mode of farming. If the movement becomes excessive, it means unsettled social and economic conditions for the individuals concerned and the community at large.

Young, in his study, "The Movement of Farm Population" in several counties in New York State, states:

The shifting of persons within the country community is closely related to changing tenure and progress on the agricultural ladder.

An index number representing the percentage of shifts for the various classes within the farm community showed that 11 per cent of the owner operators, 17 per cent of the cash tenants, and 50 per cent of the share tenants, shift each year, and that hired men shift on an average of three times a year.²⁷

The percentage shift for the owner operator group is undoubtedly high for most of the long settled rural sections of the country. The shift in the tenancy and farm labor group represents quite well the situation at large; it shows the need of stabilizing these occupations by encouraging longer tenure of service. Men cannot break up and move so frequently as here indicated, even within the same general

²⁷ Young, E. C., *op. cit.*, p. 89.

community, without suffering financially and socially therefrom.

Farm population movements to farms outside the local community.—This movement, for purposes of concrete analysis and study, should be divided into two parts: *first*, the movement to adjacent rural communities, and to similar social and physical conditions in near-by areas; *second*, movements to entirely different social and physical conditions, which generally involve different climate, crops, rainfall, markets, and the like.

The latter movement of the farm population has about run its course in American life. It typified the early history of the settlement of the country from east to west. That it involved thousands of families, and brought both fortune and poverty to the participants, is well recounted in the pages of history. Some one has said, "Westward the course of empire takes its way, leaving ruined lands behind." Depleted farms in large numbers were left behind in many eastern states during the great settlement movement in America. Now that the western lands are well settled, there is noticeable in this inter-regional population movement a slight shift of farmers from the North to the South, and a still smaller eddy from some central western sections toward the East.

It is evident that in such movements caution has to be exercised, else three losses occur: *first*, a loss to the community from which the mover comes, because of the asset he may have been: *second*, a loss to himself and family, because of failure to adapt to the new conditions; and *third*, a subtle economic loss to the new community because of his failure to "make good."

Of the movement of farmers to adjacent areas of similar social and physical conditions, there is much less opportunity for calamitous situations than in the case of the movement just discussed. With the present settlement of the lands of the United States, we have every reason to believe this

movement is by far the larger of the two under this sectional heading. Whether it is larger than the movement of farmers within the local community, present facts are too limited to indicate. A large portion of the tenancy shifts will fall within both of these movements. It is very probable that more of these will be found in the movement from community to community. To many people the pastures look a little greener over in the next community. Nearly 1,250,000 farms in the United States changed hands in 1922, about 400,000 of which changed owners. Out of a total of 2,300,000 farm tenants during that year, some 625,000 changed location during the year. In seven southern states approximately one tenant out of every three went to a new farm.

Farm and Ranch, a Texas farm paper, in the issue of November 3, 1924, stated that in Texas during 1920, nearly 150,000 farm families, or approximately 650,000 persons, changed farm locations after only one year's residence on their farms. Farmers to the number of 103,517 were reported to have lived on the same farm two to four years, and 62,708 farmers were reported to have lived on the same farm four to nine years.

Professor Vogt has brought out the fact that the shift among transient laborers on farms is very great. He states:

It is estimated that at least 1,500,000 laborers are compelled to shift from section to section with change of season in order to meet the fluctuating demand for labor in wheat harvest, fruit, lumber, and similar industries.²⁸

If we possessed the full facts concerning the various movements going on in the rural population, we should be in a better position intelligently to frame policies and develop plans for greater stabilization within the industry. There is, without doubt, considerable concomitance and coincidence between unsatisfactory social and economic conditions in rural

²⁸ Vogt, Paul L., *op. cit.*, p. 142.

life and a constantly moving population. Unsatisfactory farm-leasing arrangements play a big part here; this will be discussed in the following chapter.

SUMMARY

The necessity of a definite determination of the numbers of people actually living on farms and engaging in the various processes of agricultural production has become evident to all students of rural social phenomena. We have seen that a start was made to determine this portion of our population in the 1920 census, and was further developed in the 1925 agricultural census. Plans are now under way to make the 1930 census the most complete yet made along these lines. The census data are basic to any treatment of population factors.

Important features relating to the composition of the rural population are: nationality make-up, age distribution, marital conditions, and the overlapping of generations. The rural areas of America have been more truly representative of native American stock and traits than have the cities. This has made the country districts the great preservers of American customs and traditions. The large proportion of children and old people in the rural population gives the rural districts certain valuable characteristics. Family life is dominant, overlapping generations enable the old to instruct the young and the young to care for the old, conservatism is emphasized. On the other hand, the country assumes the heavy responsibility of rearing many young people for a life that becomes dedicated to other than rural interests, and it has the problem of trying to maintain progress with relatively conservative and elderly persons in places of power.

The various movements of the rural population discussed in the chapter tend to indicate the operation of disturbing economic and social phenomena. When the movement from

farm to city takes the better human elements out of the rural population all society has a just cause for alarm. We do not have the facts as to what extent this sort of movement has taken place, but our surmises are such as to make serious students of social welfare uneasy over the rural population problem. Excessive movements within the rural population are disturbing to community life and economic development; many such movements are attributable to unsatisfactory farm leasing systems.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC FACTORS

Socio-economic significances.—Farmers, perhaps more than is the case with other groups in society, clearly recognize the close interrelationship existing between the economic and social aspects of their occupation. The farm residence itself is set in the midst of the economic enterprises; it is part and parcel and central axis of the occupation. Opportunities for placing it out of sight and sound of the labor calls of the farm are few; in fact, a tendency is strong towards bringing many minor details of the business into the home for their completion or prosecution. Thus the farmer often tests his seed corn or small grains for germination in the kitchen; his wife will put the incubator in the basement and make her kitchen a laboratory for working up butter, canned fruits, and similar products. The farmer may have an office which he maintains in a separate room in the home or in a corner of one of the other rooms.

Some of the processes and enterprises of the farm offer good opportunities for merging social and economic features, such, for example, as barn raisings, threshing, silo fillings, butcherings, and husking bees. In tenancy and in hired labor problems, many of the factors involved have a socio-economic complex.

The fact that the farmer acts directly and individually in the economic support of many of his social institutions causes him to think of them in terms of their economic significance. In fact, this tendency is so strong as to lead many farmers more or less unconsciously to over-emphasize the economic

and consider the social minor or accessory. He is prone to lose sight of the fact that the economic values ultimately must be resolved into social values, and that an economic advantage is of consequence only in so far as it contributes to social well-being.

The imposed trust.—The ownership of property, and especially landed property, is a trust which society expects to be held in high regard and faithfully fulfilled. The attitude on the part of the individual of unlimited ownership and the right to exploit is inconsistent with this public trust. Dr. Eugene Davenport aptly states:

With all his problems and all his ups and downs, the conscientious farmer will remember that while his first duty is to himself and his family, yet, after all, he holds his land in trust because the man who comes after him will also have a family and will also have problems of his own to be met. He has no more right to skin his land for his own profit than has business to issue long-time bonds for expenditures whose benefits will be gone before the people are born who will pay the bonds. It is the business of the present owner to hand over his trust unimpaired, and, it may be added, it is the business of society, so far as practicable, to see that he does it and that they, the two, do not conspire together for the sake of cheap food, easy farming, "unexampled prosperity" or unrestrained luxury to rob the generations yet unborn of the very substance on which their strength must depend.¹

To use and not abuse his economic resources is the modern challenge to the farmer; but in voicing this challenge, society cannot lose sight of the fact that it holds a key position in the decision as to what extent the farmer can accept it. If society is niggardly in her treatment of agriculture, and acts exploitatively herself towards farmers, it can little expect farmers to find themselves in a position to act otherwise in return.

¹ Davenport, Eugene, "The Farm," p. 405. Copyright, 1927, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

The soil fertility question.—Run-down soils are poor foundations upon which to erect efficient and thriving social institutions. Poor land and poor people tend to associate with and perpetuate each other. Social values cannot be developed or even conserved when the economic base is slipping. When

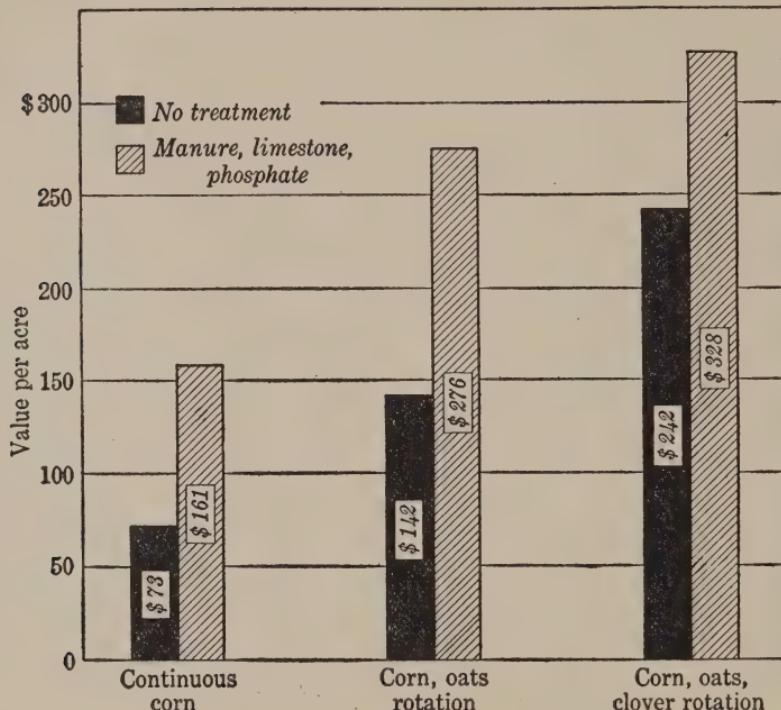


FIG. 5.—Some Results of Different Methods of Soil Management on the Morrow Plots, University of Illinois.²

This graph, based on twenty-three years of crop records from the Morrow plots, shows how relatively low land values which result from soil exhaustion under poor management are replaced by mounting values as the capacity of the soil to produce good yields is increased through good rotations and soil treatment.³

² DeTurk, E. E., Bauer, F. C., and Smith, L. H., "Lessons from the Morrow Plots," p. 136, *Bulletin 300*, Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, Urbana, December, 1927.

³ *Ibid.*

soils yield barely enough to sustain the cultivators, there is nothing in the way of a surplus to invest in social institutions. Impoverished soils soon impoverish the cultivators, leading them into a state of helplessness and ignorance.

Prevention is the watchword. Most soils, if called into use under sound economic conditions, may, by careful management, be kept in as good state of fertility as they were in in the beginning, or even improved in both fertility and tilth. Figure 5 is a striking illustration of the economic values which grow out of sensible practices of soil conservation.

The encouraging feature in general is the fact that good farming, in the sense of being fair with the land and feeding it before it becomes hungry, pays better than does poor farming which consists in attempting to skim off the cream after all the cream is gone. That is why no farmer is justified, except temporarily and as a last resort in illness or great financial distress, to run down the portion of his capital which exists in the form of available plant-food in the soil of his farm.⁴

It is a common observation that throughout fertile, productive soil belts farmers maintain better homes, have better farm equipment, feel less driven and suppressed, and have higher grade social institutions than is the case in adjacent and corresponding poor soil belts. Dr. Milton Whitney has well reminded us of this relation between soil fertility and the social life of the farmer. He states:

Three or four hundred years ago a colony was established on the Hagerstown loam soil around what is now known as Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The success of these people on this particular soil type has been the admiration of the country. It has been an object lesson to American farmers; it has influenced American life and patriotism. The people have been contented for they have been able to produce a large part of what they need and a considerable surplus to distribute to others. They have comfortable homes,

⁴ Davenport, Eugene, "The Farm," p. 403. Copyright, 1927, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

plenty to eat, large and commodious barns, and have seen the value of their lands increase as time passed. They have been able to clothe and educate themselves and their children.

About the same time a section of the sandhills and mountains of some of our Southern States was settled by much the same kind of people, but their history has been in terrible contrast with the history of the Pennsylvania settlers. . . . The people have been undernourished and diseased. They have been poorly educated and have been utterly discouraged and are without ambition. Instead of being an example and an inspiration to the people of other localities, instead of contributing to the general welfare of the State and Nation, they have been a burden and a care and a menace.⁵

There is an inscription on the front of the Old Agricultural Building at the University of Illinois which has impressed the author with its fundamental truth from the beginning of his college freshman days; it reads as follows: *The Wealth of Illinois is in Her Soil, and Her Strength Lies in Its Intelligent Development.* To use the soil and not abuse it, in fact, to leave it better than one found it, is a practice that holds security for the cultivators and society alike.

In this section it seems necessary to state that men have not always used good judgment in selecting and settling upon some of the various soils of the country. Soil types differ, in a large degree, as to their adaptabilities. We have seen examples of thousands of acres of hilly lands denuded of their forest in order to raise cultivated crops, with the ultimate result of irremedial damage to the land in the way of gully-ing and washing. In other cases, such as mentioned by Dr. Whitney, there are farmers struggling against insurmountable obstacles on natively barren lands, or with crops ill adapted to soil and climate. An uneconomic and poorly adapted use of the land is sure to bring its early retribution.

Size of farms and other business units.—Everyone has to

⁵ Whitney, Milton, "Soil and Civilization," p. 24, D. Van Nostrand Company, New York, 1925.

decide more or less for himself the size his business should assume in order to give him the greatest returns for his efforts and abilities. There are many factors operating which make this a problem of no easy solution for many farmers. The type of farming to be engaged in, which will be dictated in a large measure by climate, rainfall, topography, markets, transportation, and like features, will need to receive careful consideration. One's financial resources, his managerial abilities, and number of family helpers will be additional factors.

Other things being equal, the farmer will do best for himself and society by approaching as closely as possible the economic unit in area, capital, and labor for his particular location and enterprise. The following table gives a fairly good idea of the prevailing size of farms in different geographic areas in the United States in 1920:

TABLE 7
SIZE OF FARMS BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS IN THE
UNITED STATES IN 1920

<i>Division</i>	<i>Acreage</i>
United States.....	148.2
New England.....	108.5
Middle Atlantic.....	95.4
East North Central.....	108.5
West North Central.....	234.3
South Atlantic.....	84.4
East South Central.....	75.0
West South Central.....	174.1
Mountain.....	480.7
Pacific.....	239.8

Various forms of specialized farming which demand a large labor force per acre of area take the form of intensive cultivation and call for farms of relatively few acres. Ranching,

grain culture, and livestock farming, on the other hand, lend themselves to a more extensive type of cultivation involving more acreage per farm unit.

With any given farming system or region, farms vary considerably in size. So much depends upon the personal factor that it is impossible to make a specific statement of what constitutes a proper-sized farm. In a broad way, taking men as they are, there seems to be a growing need in some sections for larger farms, and in others for smaller ones. Improved machines have been requiring larger acreages to warrant their ownership and use. On the other hand, plantations in the South have been broken up into smaller farms, and ranches in the West have grown smaller and taken on dry-farming operations, and, in some cases, irrigation farming. There are certainly men of various calibres in farming as in anything else. Professor Hawthorn reports:

In the Western Iowa Survey the farmers who were leaders in farm bureaus and who averaged 50 per cent higher in social contacts operated half-section sized farms. The average farm in that country is 177.3 acres. A list of the eight most progressive counties in Iowa, socially, is also a list of those that have an average farm value of \$56,124 as compared to \$39,941 for the entire state. In Orange township, Blackhawk County, Iowa, five farmer leaders had 236 acres each, while the average-size farm for the township was 157.2 acres.⁶

While farmer leaders help determine for their respective sections the optimum size farm in acreage, capital, and labor requirements, every man has it as his own problem to decide upon his capacities and abilities to meet this optimum.

The economic rewards of agriculture.—Farming gains are usually conservative gains. Agriculture does not lend itself readily to mass production and pyramiding processes in man-

⁶ Hawthorn, H. B., "The Sociology of Rural Life," p. 218, The Century Company, New York, 1926.

agement; therefore the chances for large gains suddenly made are far fewer than is the case in industry. On the other hand, farming is not so frequently subject to severe and rapid depressions, therefore losses are relatively less calamitous. The conservative returns from farming have a sobering effect upon the people engaged in the occupation; their business dictates cautious and conservative methods.

There is always a place in agriculture for the innovator, the individual who is not content to follow doggedly, but who, recognizing his ability to plan and manage, forges ahead of his fellows. J. Sidney Cates writes in the *Country Gentleman* as follows:

I have before me the bookkeeping record for something over two hundred farms in one group right in the heart of Illinois, covering the year 1926. The best forty farmers in this group showed profit on the year's business ranging from \$3,000 to more than \$6,000. The tail-end forty ranged from a gain of fifteen hundred to a loss of one thousand, and the estimated value of their family labor exceeded their income by five dollars.

Being in the upper forty or lower forty was not a matter of size in investment, for the value of the farm investment in both these groups ranged between fifty-five and sixty thousand dollars. The variation in earning came about through different degrees of skill in farming. The money-making farmers raised eight bushels more corn to the acre than the tailenders, eight bushels more oats and seven bushels more wheat. They gained right here, on a basis of normal acreage, \$869 of the \$3475 excess they had at the end of the year.⁷

Mr. Cates shows further in his article that the good farmers more wisely chose their crops, carried more livestock, fed it better, and managed their labor more wisely. The good farmers spent \$46.32 for every \$100 they took in, while the poorer farmers spent \$100.17 for every \$100 in receipts.

⁷ Cates, J. Sidney, *Tightening Up Corn Belt Farming*, in *The Country Gentleman*, January, 1928, p. 13, Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The relative independence of the farmer is a station prized by many engaged in the occupation. With the increasing complexity of our economic organization, however, the farmer enjoys less and less of his old time independence. He has the freedom to plan his work and distribute his time and efforts, but within certain limits he is dependent upon the forces and agencies of the economic world. His is now a commercial agriculture, and much that he raises must be marketed in order that he may be able to supply himself with products of other people's production. Local markets, world markets, transportation, tariffs, money rates, and the like are factors he is required to reckon with these days. Also, within certain limits, the farmer is very dependent upon natural phenomena, like weather and soil conditions, insect pests, and fungus diseases.

That men do attain relative independence and fair economic reward in agriculture is well illustrated by a contrasted situation related by William M. Jardine, who states:

Only a month ago I visited several farms in Kansas. For thirty years Mr. Taylor and his family have lived on a 160-acre piece of land in the central part of the State. Taylor himself has retired; but he continues to live on the farm; his sons are in charge of its actual operation. The farm home has a small, but good library. There is a fire-place, a radio, and a piano. Shrubs and trees shade and beautify the house. . . . Mr. Taylor has even laid out a nine-hole golf course on a hilly section of his land; that particular piece of land is grazed by sheep. All that Mr. Taylor and his family have was made from the land. The wealth has been invested right at home. His family is benefited. The entire community is benefited.

Just across the road is another farm. Its soil is as rich and as productive as Mr. Taylor's farm. Ten years ago its owner felt that he had sufficient money to move to town. He placed a tenant in charge. Today the foundation of that farm is rotting. There

are few trees and no shrubs. . . . Ten years ago the farm offered better living conditions than it does today.⁸

No compilation of figures seems necessary further to illustrate the point of this section. We find the human factor of great, if not the greatest, determinative influence in questions of economic returns and standards of success in farming. There are men making successful enterprises out of farming in every section of the country.

Personal requirements for successful farmers.—Probably the most important single factor to be considered here is what the economists call "managerial ability." This centers squarely upon the individual, and it tries him out at every turn in the road. Unless a man has the ability to plan wisely, execute with skill and judgment, he has little business trying to farm, at least for himself. The leaks in farming attributed to poor management are legion. Poor returns, scanty living, dwarfed family and social life, and ultimate failure go back to this one factor more frequently, we dare say, than to any other single factor.

Farming requires such a catholicity of mind for details of the business that unless one has had good apprenticeship training he will find it a difficult calling readily to adopt. A certain ruggedness of health, good powers of endurance, self-reliance, and a disposition which finds contentment in the open spaces and in relative social isolation are all essential in the makeup of the individual. Temperaments which seek moderation in all things stand a greater chance of success than those which seek the extremes.

Choice of farm, location, soil types, topography.—As a general rule, a selection of the richer soils gives one greater chance of success. As indicated in a former section, soil building is slow and expensive. No lesson has been more

⁸ Jardine, Wm. M., in *The Breeders' Gazette*, p. 673, August 4, 1927, Chicago, Illinois.

dearly learned in agriculture than the one that depleted fertility is most burdensome of restoration. Prospective farmers are often deceived in buying poor land because it is cheap in price; only those skilled in the processes of soil building, and who can afford to make the additional investment in fertility and in time can afford to entertain such opportunities.

The variation in soil types requires that one have knowledge about these details to quite the same extent as he expects to know the peculiar requirements of his different types of animals. Dr. Whitney has well stated:

Soil types differ in their character and in their ability and capacity to perform service, just as factories and engines and breeds and classes of animals differ. They each require different care and treatment, and it is upon the recognition and use of these differences in capacity and treatment that ultimate success depends.⁹

Topography has played a large part in determining settlement upon the land, the building of roads, the type of farming, and ultimately the character of the people themselves. We have only to contrast wide differences in topography to realize many of the subtle effects it has upon social as well as economic life. Hilly, eroded, and mountainous regions are noted for their relatively meager agricultural productions. Social inaccessibility, isolation, and backwardness mark the social life of such places. In speaking of the contrast between the mountain areas and the blue-grass section of Kentucky, Davis, Barnes, et al.,¹⁰ show that only 34 per cent of the land in the mountain districts is improved while 80 per cent in the blue-grass district is improved. The yields of all crops are several times larger in the latter region than in the former region; consequently the average mountaineer obtained in 1919 products worth only \$641, whereas the blue-grass farmer obtained \$2175. These authors state further that

⁹ Whitney, M., *op. cit.*, p. 2.

¹⁰ Davis, J., Barnes, H. E., et al., "An Introduction to Sociology," pp. 230-231, D. C. Heath & Company, New York, 1926.

"as soon as the settlers were established in the mountains the rugged relief began to have a direct effect. The roads were mere trails, steep, rocky, often in the beds of streams, and often impassable because of floods."¹¹

There is often a draining away of the better and more energetic people from such districts. They go to the cities or more suitable lands; consequently an unprogressive group tends to remain behind and perpetuate the prevailing provincialism. The group life that may be maintained in an area of rough and broken topography is likely to be dwarfed, simple, and more or less intolerant of differences between it and other groups. Institutions are likely to be poorly supported and conducted.

Level and relatively level areas, on the other hand, facilitate improved road building, communication, and the exchange of personal and group contacts; a more cosmopolitan attitude may develop and spread through such districts than in the rugged and broken areas.

TENANCY AND OWNERSHIP

Increases and decreases in tenancy.—The gradual increase in farm tenancy which has taken place in the United States since the collection of the first statistics on the subject in 1880 has given some cause for alarm. Tenancy, within itself, is not necessarily an evil, but the prevailing tendencies of the system in this country are not the most desirable for society. Short term, exploitative types of leases have been so persistent as to lead students of the problem to advocate more owner-operated farms as a check, and possible cure. This is not equivalent to saying that owner-operated farms are always better conducted than tenanted farms; the tendency is strongly in that direction.

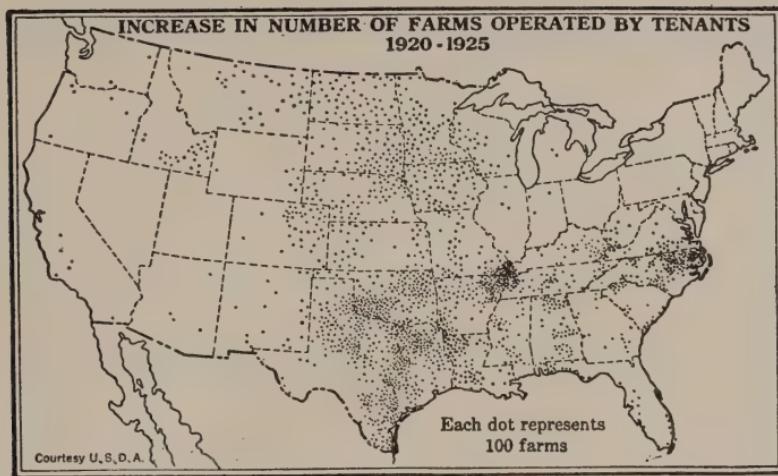
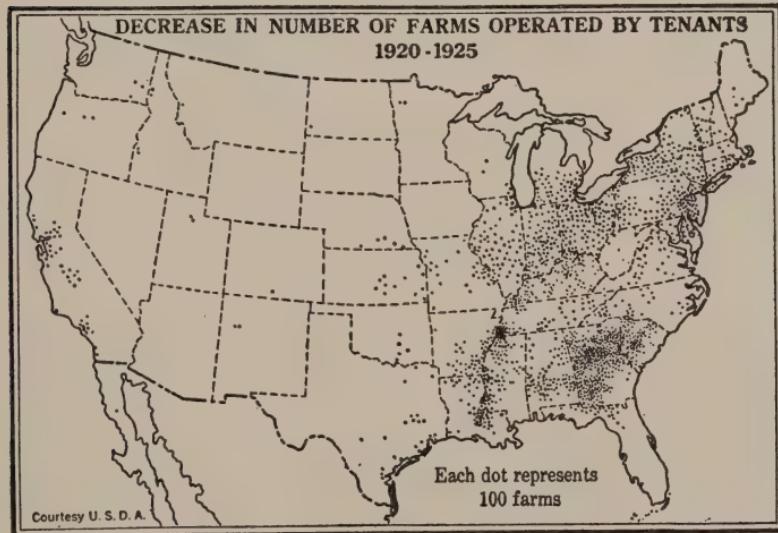
¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

For the United States at large in 1880, the percentage of tenant-operated farms to all farms was 25.56 per cent; in 1890 it was 28.4 per cent; in 1900 it was 35.3 per cent; in 1910 it was 37.0 per cent; in 1920 it was 38.1 per cent; and in 1925 it was 38.6 per cent. Forty-two per cent of all improved land in farms was operated under tenant systems in 1920. Tenancy has typified much of southern agriculture since the Civil War. In the New England States its percentage is small and is declining from decade to decade. In the "corn belt" states, and in most of the states of the Central West, it has been on the increase. In Illinois in 1920, 55.1 per cent of the improved land in farms was tenanted; in Kansas 52.0 per cent, and in Iowa 50.1 per cent. In the western plains and mountain regions tenancy is relatively low, but it raises to 41.2 per cent of improved land in farms in California, and to 50.0 per cent in Oregon.

We may observe from the above statements that tenancy tends to grow in areas of good soils, easily cultivated, and to diminish in amount in areas where the soils are less fertile, and dictate a less extensive type of culture.

The changes in tenancy between 1920 and 1925 have not been great but indicate its spread towards the lands adaptable to larger-scale farming. During this period the number of tenants has increased in many areas lying between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. In Figures 6, 7, and 8 we see graphically illustrated the changes that have been developing among tenant- and owner-operated farms in the United States between 1920 and 1925.

Variations between states are still large, ranging, for example, from 3 per cent of the farmers of Maine as tenants to 68 per cent of the farmers of Mississippi. O. M. Johnson states that the "increases in the number of tenant-operated farms in many parts of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Missouri were the result of increased acreage of cotton

FIG. 6¹²FIG. 7¹³

¹² U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook*, 1926, p. 700, Washington, D. C.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 701.

in these same areas."¹⁴ The increases in owner-operated farms have been growing in areas east of the Mississippi River and in the Pacific Coast States among the smaller sized farms.

It seems, therefore, that the soil, size, and type of farm must be such as to support, in part at least, the owner and tenant families in order to offer possibilities for the employment of tenancy. Tenancy also seems to follow in the wake of rising

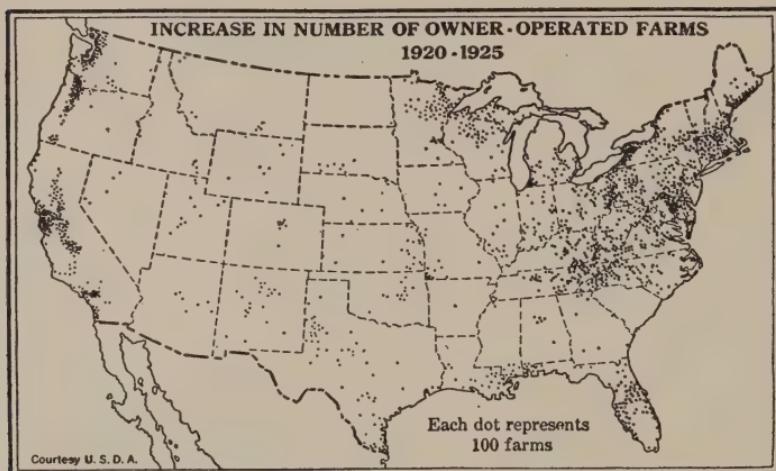


FIG. 8¹⁵

prices of land. The larger sums required to purchase a farm cause men to hesitate about purchasing land, although they may still desire to farm. The higher price of land, therefore, tends to prolong the period of tenancy.

Who are the farm tenants?—H. A. Turner states that "Farm tenants, for the most part, are young men. Tenant farmers in 1920 average 39 years of age with eleven years' experience as tenants. Of farmers under 25 years of age, over three-fourths were tenants, but of farmers of 65 years

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 703.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

and over only a sixth were tenants."¹⁶ A few men who have once been owners may turn to tenancy because of financial or other reasons.

As to racial groups, it is found that 66.4 per cent of all tenants are native whites, 28.7 per cent Negroes, and 0.4 per cent Indian, Japanese, or Chinese. The negro tenants are practically all located in the 16 southern states where they compose a large part of the tenant class. Nearly one-half of the negro tenant farmers of the South, and about one-fourth of the white tenant farmers of this section farm as croppers. This is a stage of greater dependency upon the landlord than is the case of pure tenancy. A cropper has little to provide aside from his labor and must, therefore, depend upon the landlord to furnish work-stock, and, in many cases, feed, implements, seed, and fertilizers. The cropper status scarcely lifts one above the status of laborer.

The degree of relationship between the tenant and landlord is a factor commanding attention and consideration. Many farm owners retire from their farms gradually, renting them in many cases to sons, sons-in-law, or other relatives. An unpublished study, made by the author, of a rural township in Indiana showed that 25 per cent of the farm tenants of that area were related to their landlords. Tenancy under such circumstances is scarcely different from ownership, particularly from the point of view of community results. In most cases the relatives will eventually come into ownership of the land.

Who are the farm landlords?—As above indicated, landlords may be relatives of the tenants, and may live on the farm with the tenant or be far removed. For the country at large, it has been shown that "over nine-tenths of the rented farms are owned by landlords who live in the county or in adjoining counties."¹⁷

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 706.

TABLE 8

RESIDENCE OF LANDLORDS OF 237 TENANTS IN A TEXAS COUNTY¹⁸

Race	Number	Adjoining Farm	Nearby in Country	Nearby in Town	Others
White.....	116	28%	14%	47%	11%
Negro.....	82	45	20	29	6
Mexican.....	39	26	15	49	10
Totals....	237	34	16	41	9
		50%		50%	

In the South farm landlordism is largely a phase of farm or plantation operation. In Northern States farm landlordism is commonly a phase of retirement from farms. Of a group of southern landlords over half reported themselves as farming as compared with a fifth of a group of northern landlords.¹⁹

Most farm landlords have been farmers themselves, or have worked on farms. Professor Rankin, in a study of Nebraska farm ownership, found that a little less than a sixth of all tenants studied already owned land. He also found that "Nebraska farmers become landlords at an average age of 40 years, and retire at an average age of 50 years."²⁰

The agricultural ladder.—We noted above that a large proportion of tenants are young men; most of these men are planning sometime to own a farm. About one-half of the farm tenants in 1920 had worked on farms for wages, and others had worked on farms for their parents; tenancy in a large way is used as a step in the agricultural ladder.

¹⁸ Haney, L. H., and Wehrwein, G. S., "A Social and Economic Survey of Southern Travis County," p. 84, *Bulletin 65*, University of Texas, Austin, 1916.

¹⁹ U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook*, 1926, *op. cit.*, p. 705.

²⁰ Rankin, J. O., "Steps to Nebraska Farm Ownership," p. 2, *Bulletin 210*. Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1926.

The Nebraska study mentioned above brings out the following facts relative to the climb to ownership:

The "ladders" most frequently climbed to ownership were farm boy, tenant, owner, 29.7 per cent; farm boy, hired man, tenant, owner, 25.2 per cent; farm boy, owner, 14.8 per cent; and farm boy, hired man, owner, 5.5 per cent.²¹

Tenancy enables a young man to engage in farming on his own initiative and gradually accumulate sufficient finance to purchase a place of his own.

Age at which the tenant becomes owner.—A question of considerable concern is whether or not tenants are finding it increasingly difficult to become owners. The feeling is general that the climb up the agricultural ladder is desirable providing the steps are not too greatly prolonged, or give indications of blocking further progress, thus developing a distinct tenant or hired man class. Here again Professor Rankin's study points out some recent tendencies, which are significant, to say the least. He shows that "those who have been farm owners for forty years spent five years as hired men and three years as tenants while those who had owned their land less than five years spent six and a half years as hired men and eleven years as tenants and gained ownership distinctly later in life."²² These figures indicate, therefore, that the periods in labor positions and tenancy have been growing longer. This, no doubt, will continue to be true as long as disproportions between the returns on capital in land and capital in the way of labor power continue as they have in the recent past. Men are reluctant to acquire land for which they must pay high prices, sustain high taxes, and reap a proportionately and comparatively small return.

Values of tenancy.—There are a number of desirable features about farm tenancy as a condition of life in rural affairs. *First*, tenancy gives worthy individuals an oppor-

²¹ *Op. cit.*

²² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

tunity to farm who do not have the capital needed to purchase land and also equip it. *Second*, it permits of good landlords extending aid, in the way of instruction and guidance, to young men who have relatively limited experience in farming. *Third*, it enables the older farmers to retain their property and leave certain of their life-time interests and endowments in the countryside to help maintain it. *Fourth*, it furnishes a desirable status for some men who can operate better for a directing head than they can operate for themselves. *Fifth*, it is a desirable way of cultivating certain of state-owned lands; in this case the tenant is likely to take more interest in the property than would be the case if he were simply hired to farm it.

Tenants, like owners, vary in their abilities and capacities. We are not warranted in condemning tenancy because of the abuses of some tenants or the lack of constructive measures of some landlords. Good tenancy and good landlordism go hand-in-hand, and the one cannot prosper without the other. A large part of the problem with tenancy in the United States lies in providing better conditions for tenants and better relations between tenants and landlords.

The evils of farm tenancy.—One of the basic evil-producers in tenancy is the short term, exploitative type of lease so prevalent in tenanted areas. It helps to bring a train of troubles, among which are frequent removals of the tenant, which are always costly; lack of interest in the farm, and in the community; a lowered state of finance; and a general feeling of discontent. On farms where the tenant and landlord are related, only 40.8 per cent of the tenants shifted; whereas, on farms where there was no relationship existing between tenant and landlord, 77.3 per cent of the tenants shifted during the same ten-year period according to a Wisconsin study reported by Dr. C. J. Galpin.²³

²³ Galpin, C. J., and Hoag, E., "Farm Tenancy," p. 17, *Research Bulletin* No. 44, Agricultural Experiment Station, Madison, Wisconsin, 1919.

Tenanted farms are so frequently marked by run-down fences, buildings, unkept fields, and neglected fertility that these conditions, in the popular mind, tend to characterize the tenanted farm. In some areas the state of the people in tenancy has become so helpless that they seem approaching a pathological stage not far removed from the peasants of Europe. Dr. Branson of the University of North Carolina has shown in some of his studies in that state, that the systems of tenancy followed by some of the whites as well as many of the Negroes have reduced the people to poverty, a high degree of illiteracy, undernourishment, and general incapacity to rise out of such status. Children reared under such circumstances find it well nigh impossible to escape.

Schools, churches, recreational life, and almost all forms of institutional life suffer more or less from insufficient support and maintenance in areas addicted to a system of tenancy which prevents the tenant opportunities of a settled and remunerative life.

Professor Hawthorn shows that because of lack of permanency and financial leverage the standard of life of the tenant is usually lower than that of the owner; this is often shown in the uses the tenant makes of his leisure time.

The types of amusement and recreation which the tenant seems to prefer are motion pictures, dancing, and certain indoor games. . . . Fishing and hunting are also more typical pastimes for tenants.

In the matter of fairs, social picnics, parties and celebrations, the surveys in Texas, Nebraska, and Iowa show very little difference between land-owner and tenant.²⁴

Making the most out of tenancy.—It has been suggested by some students of tenancy that its virtues can be preserved, and that it can be made a desirable way of getting land into the hands of those who will cultivate it if some means can be

²⁴Hawthorn, H. B., "The Sociology of Rural Life," pp. 246-47. The Century Company, New York, 1926.

found of holding its volume to a reasonable figure (about 33 1/3 per cent of all farms) and satisfactory leasing conditions developed. Too great a concentration of tenants with short term arrangements with their landlords tends to dwarf social life.

That tenancy may be made profitable and desirable to both tenant and landlord has been impressed upon the author in numerous instances. He recalls a well-kept farm in central Illinois that has been operated by an efficient tenant for over 25 years. This man has reared a family of five children—four of whom are girls—and sent them out with good education and preparation for life. He has been a good citizen, an office holder upon a number of occasions, a conservator of the soil, in fact, as good a farmer as any of his owner-neighbors. His landlord comes in for a share of the success of this tenancy, because he, too, has been of the constructive type. He has been interested in the farm, and he has aided in providing permanent improvements and in giving a liberal and long-term lease.

England has long been an example of good farming and farm life, and this under a system in which scarcely one-fifth of the cultivators own the land they cultivate. Dr. Gray states:

Many English landlords with large estates spend a considerable part of their incomes in improving housing conditions and providing sanitation, education, and recreation for the tenants.²⁵

We, in America, are concerned in seeing that farm tenants have ample opportunities to make for themselves and for their communities as good social builders as any other productively worth-while group. A system which spells submergence and stratification contains evil forebodings for society.

²⁵ Gray, L. C., "Introduction to Agricultural Economics," p. 283, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1924.

HIRED FARM LABOR

Much of the labor on farms in the United States is performed by the farmer and his family. Difficulties in obtaining dependable farm labor have accelerated the movement towards greater use of machinery and towards a family-sized farm.

The census for 1920, as reported in Chapter IV, shows a total of 10,661,410 persons 10 years of age and over engaged in agricultural occupations; of these, 4,186,128 are classified as farm laborers. To this number might well be added some half million negro croppers in the South, who have been classed as farm operators. Of the above number of farm laborers, 803,229 are classed as females. Many of these female laborers on farms are in the South where considerable work with the cotton crop is performed by women, girls, and boys. Dr. Gray states that statistics of the number of persons doing farm work for wages are likely to exaggerate the relative importance of this class of work in farming because of the fact that each person who works only a few days per year for wages is counted as a farm laborer.

The fact is that a large proportion (45.8 per cent) of the total number of persons classified as *gainfully employed agricultural laborers* (1920) were employed on the home farm, and of women laborers 72.7 per cent were employed on the home farm.²⁶

Kinds of hired labor.—There are many kinds of hired labor on the farms of the United States. The positions vary all the way from skilled foremen and experts on the larger farms to itinerant and casual day laborers called in for special or odd jobs.

Dr. Gray classified farm laborers from the standpoint of motives and conditions which cause them to hire out as farm laborers, as follows:

²⁶ Gray, L. C., *op. cit.*, p. 364.

- a. Farmer boys working temporarily a few days at a time for neighbors
- b. Farmer boys working for parents
- c. Farmer boys gaining experience and saving money to buy farms or to become tenants
- d. City boys working for experience with intention of becoming farmers
- e. Young men working to gain experience and for money but not expecting to farm
- f. Winter workers from lumber camps and other winter industries
- g. Miners, factory workers, and others filling in temporarily during unemployment
- h. Hoboes who do occasional work as they wander about
- i. Derelicts and drifters working a few months, then moving on
- j. Farm hands who have no other outlook, but expect to continue in this class
- k. Wives of farmers and their children working for wages, usually in rush seasons.²⁷

We have in this country relatively few in the permanent farm labor group, especially outside the South. The agricultural ladder is a means by which most of those inclined towards agricultural pursuits advance from the farm labor group. Most students of the question deplore any set of circumstances which tend to block the progress of the laborer up the agricultural ladder; they feel that a stratified farm labor class would be undesirable in American rural life. It seems more logical to admit that there is a place for a permanent farm labor group, the same as for a permanent tenant group, and then seek ways and means of providing good and wholesome conditions for the labor group. The levels of the laborers and the levels of their conditions both need raising to a higher and more satisfactory plane.

Labor problems from the farmer's point of view.—In most parts of the country there is a general feeling that farm labor

²⁷ Gray, L. C., "Introduction to Agricultural Economics," pp. 364-65. Copyright, 1924, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

is relatively scarce, inefficient, and costly. In response to this attitude we witness considerable retrenchment in farm developmental plans, the introduction of labor-saving machines, and an extension of labor efforts on the part of the farmer and his family.

The farmer, like any employer of labor, has to make a profit from his hired labor in order to be able to continue to hire it. With the recent prevailing low prices of farm products in proportion to what farmers have to buy, as revealed by index numbers of various commodities and prices, the farmer has felt constrained to run short on hired assistants. Farmers very justly state they cannot well compete with industry and commerce in bidding for labor; as a consequence, they often accept lower grades of workers, curtail their plans, or use more machinery.

Many farmers complain that the hired labor they get is not efficient, is disinterested in the work, and is of a lower moral tone than is consistent with the family and community welfare.

The disadvantageous position of the farm from the point of view of labor needs.—In the earlier days of the country's development farming was the chief occupation of the majority of the people. Most of the industries were then small and dovetailed quite consciously with farming operations. In those days there was little competition between farming and industry for labor. Laborers then also had good prospects of advancement up the agricultural ladder to ownership, as farms were easily obtained from the Government. The hired laborer of the farm was little different in backgrounds and training from the farmer and his family.

With the rapid development of cities and industries, and with the settlement of the country, however, all this has changed. Although farming, too, has changed, it has in no wise been able to keep up with urbanization and industrialization improvements. Tremendous wealth has flowed into these

channels, and the employed laborer has felt the advantages by such improvements as a regular length of day, considerable permanent employment, work bonuses, insurance, social work aids, recreation provisions and numerous like factors. The farm has been able to add some improved machinery and better transportation facilities, but otherwise is still largely a seasonal employer of labor, with relatively low purchasing ability for labor, unstandardized work days, and limited opportunity for advancement in the labor field. Specialization in farm labor is also relatively limited as the greatest consumers of farm labor are the general farms of the country which demand considerable apprenticeship and much versatility on the part of the laborer.

Farm labor as the hired laborer sees it.—Laborers complain of many drawbacks to farm labor. Probably of first rank from their point of view are the long hours, numerous daily tasks, relatively low pay, seasonal character of the work, and social isolation. Work in inclement weather, work with cows and other live-stock, poor housing accommodations, and the heavy character of the work are other criticisms of farm laborers.

How correlate and adjust the different viewpoints?—It is difficult to standardize the day's work on the farm. Rains, seasonal fluctuations and variations, and similar factors superimpose rush and slack periods upon the best laid plans of the farmer.

Perhaps the best place to begin with the problems raised by farm laborers is where one would begin in considering many of the farmers' problems, and that is with the individual himself. Discontented farm laborers need to look deeply and try to find the challenge in country life as contrasted with the glitter of the crowded city and industry. The laborer needs to be reminded of the reasons for population migration from cities to rural districts, already given in Chapter IV. One point among those named is apropos of the present discussion

—namely, high costs of living in cities as compared with the living costs of hired men on farms. The perquisites furnished by the farm, in addition to the wages, are often large factors in swinging the balance in favor of a farm labor position. J. C. Folson, reporting on a farm labor study in the 1926 Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, states:

Comparatively few farmers who reported give these men cash wages without perquisites of some kind. Those most commonly given are board, lodging, house rent, fuel, milk, meat, vegetables, fruit; a chance to keep live-stock such as poultry, pigs, a cow, or a horse or mule; feed or pasture for the live-stock kept; garden, and use of the employer's horses or mules.

Practically all single men reported on receive board. The other perquisites most commonly given them are the use of horses or mules and vehicles, and garage space for their own motor vehicles.²⁸

In the following table many factors are drawn together showing the money values of the perquisites received by farm laborers, the average length of the working day, the average rate of wages, etc.

Seasonal character of the need of hired farm labor.—So far as possible a laborer is entitled to permanency in his position, but in certain types of work everywhere this is impossible to guarantee. A larger labor force is usually required for harvesting crops than is needed during their growth. For example, wheat, corn, cotton, and hay harvesting, where these crops are grown on a considerable scale, call for extra workers, many of whom often travel hundreds of miles from their homes in order to follow the harvest demands of the particular crop. In large wheat-raising areas of the West the problems of the migratory farm laborer often become very acute. The seasonal character of most farming operations makes it difficult to even-up the labor demands throughout the year.

²⁸ *Yearbook*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, *op. cit.*, p. 575.

TABLE 9

TOTAL TIME WORKED, HOURS PER DAY, AND WAGE RATES OF MALE LABORERS RECEIVING DIFFERENT CLASSES OF PRIVILEGES IN ADDITION TO MONEY WAGES, 199 FARMS IN NEW YORK ²⁹

Payment in Addition to Money Wages	Number of Persons	Number of Hours Worked			Average Hours per Week Day
		Week Days	Sundays	Total Hours	
Month laborers:					
Board and lodging only.....	10	9,985	143	10,128	11.1
Board, lodging and washing.....	31	29,682	699	30,381	10.2
Board, lodging and miscellaneous privileges.....	12	20,425	489	20,914	10.2
House rent and other privileges.....	17	30,407	1,069	31,476	10.2
Other kinds than above *.....	3	6,320	74	6,394	
Day laborers: †					
Nothing.....		12,004	.....	12,004	9.9
One meal per day.....		8,803	.....	8,803	9.5
Two meals per day.....		15,820	.....	15,820	9.9
Three meals per day.....		2,929	.....	2,929	9.8
Board and lodging.....		11,541	158	11,699	10.1
Board, lodging and washing.....		6,662	85	6,747	10.1
Something in addition to meals, board and lodging, or washing.....		3,686	72	3,758	10.8
<i>Wage Rate per Month or Day</i>			<i>Wage Rate per Hour</i>		
	Cash	Privileges	Total	Cash	Privileges
Month laborers:					
Board and lodging only.....	\$31.74	\$24.87	\$56.61	\$0.109	\$0.085
Board, lodging and washing.....	27.66	30.58	58.24	0.102	0.112
Board, lodging and miscellaneous privileges.....	25.51	37.32	62.83	0.094	0.137
House rent and other privileges.....	43.76	23.87	67.63	0.160	0.087
Other kinds than above *.....					
Day laborers: †					
Nothing.....	3.12	.....	3.12	0.315	.....
One meal per day.....	2.92	0.45	3.37	0.306	0.048
Two meals per day.....	2.99	0.83	3.82	0.301	0.083
Three meals per day.....	2.88	1.11	3.99	0.293	0.114
Board and lodging.....	2.61	1.03	3.64	0.254	0.100
Board, lodging and washing.....	2.64	1.28	3.92	0.258	0.125
Something in addition to meals, board and lodging, or washing.....	2.95	1.20	4.15	0.268	0.108

* Number of persons too small for averages.

† Number of persons not given because the same person working on two different farms often received different classes of privileges.

29 Gillett, R. L., "A Study of Farm Labor in Seneca County, New York," p. 42, *Bulletin 164*, Department of Farms and Markets of the State of New York, Albany, 1924.

As an aid in lessening the evils of seasonal labor demands it has been proposed that we have a greater return to small industries and a decentralization of some of the large industries. These plans would aim to place the industrial plants at strategic points where laborers might easily flow back and forth between farm work and industrial work as the demands dictated. No doubt these plans would be helpful in some situations; there has been more or less of such development in a few areas.

The reorganization of farm plans has brought one of the best aids in meeting labor requirements. Specialized crop areas, such as the wheat belt of the Northwest, have been taking on more live-stock, grass, and general farming operations, thus distributing the labor requirements more evenly over the year. Throughout the Central West this system has grown in strong favor and has resulted in stabilizing, to a large degree, the labor forces on the farms. Many of the farmers in this area erect cottages for permanent year-round married laborers, and give them in addition to wages perquisites as above mentioned. In the South the laborer's cottage or cabin has long been a necessity for helping to stabilize farm labor needs.

For certain day and short season work the farmer will find it necessary to take laborers into his home or to the home of a permanent married laborer on his farm. The rapid developments in farm machinery improvements in the nature of tractors, corn-huskers, two-row cultivators, combines, etc., have materially reduced the need of extra labor on the farm.

There is a legitimate place in our agricultural systems for a certain amount of hired labor force. We have to recognize the dangers that are likely to arise from poorly providing for this group, and in not maintaining good standards within it. Farmers and laborers alike have to work unitedly to make conditions agreeable and satisfactory. Further questions

along these lines will be taken up in the chapter on the "Rural Family and Home."

SUMMARY

The occupation of farming embraces both the processes of production from the soil and modes of living on the land in close relation to the economic details of the business. Thus we find economic activities everywhere dovetailing with social activities, so that it becomes difficult to draw a hard and fast line between the two. For this reason rural sociology and agricultural economics must cover a certain amount of common ground. They need to work unitedly in such territory and help develop balanced studies and well-rounded plans for solving the troublesome socio-economic problems of rural life.

Good farms and good farming have such a fundamental relation to the values of living the life of a farmer that we are compelled to give attention to such factors as size of farms, topography, soil fertility, tenantry, farm labor, etc. The permanency of the soil, and the necessity of using it over and over as a means of sustenance for all people, gives the occupation of farming a peculiarly universal social significance. This leads us squarely to the interest that all groups and classes of society should have in the economic phases of agriculture. Good farmers must be maintained upon the land in order that the land may be conserved for future generations of men. Economic success is essential to the maintenance of good farmers. Society needs to have greater concern than it seems to have over the preservation of economic balances between farming and other forms of business. Worthy individuals cannot be expected to remain long in a line of work which fails to reward them in just proportion to their efforts, abilities and responsibilities, especially when there are ways and means of escape to more remunerative lines.

Tenantry and farm labor contain real problems with large social relations. However much we may like it we shall have to admit that we are face to face with the necessity of providing constructively for a fair-sized tenant and farm-labor group. The social and economic institutions of rural life will gain nothing by taking a negative attitude towards these facts.

CHAPTER VI

RURAL STANDARDS OF LIFE

Significance of the term.—Few subjects treated in a text on rural sociology reach more deeply into the heart of rural social and economic problems than does a consideration of the standards of life. A chief aim in developing such a subject is to enable us the more clearly to interpret the human values gained in and through farming as a business and a mode of living.

Many valuable studies of standards of living are being made in rural districts which are adding new light to our knowledge of rural practices and rural ideals. All of these studies show the great importance of consumption economics, and reveal the incompleteness of the older programs based almost entirely upon production economics. A consideration of standards of life factors is essential for the complete understanding of many of the topics to be discussed throughout the remaining chapters of the text; this is especially true of details relating to rural health, education, family and home, art, recreation, leadership, policies and plans. As Dr. E. L. Kirkpatrick so truly states:

The question of the level of living which the family procures from the occupation of farming is becoming rapidly a major problem of American agriculture. The basic factors or elements of farm family living are being analyzed as never before.¹

A study of the uses made of goods and services, and of the ideals dictating these uses, has a significant place in rural

¹ *Yearbook, United States Department of Agriculture, 1926*, p. 351, Washington, D. C.

social phenomena. The efforts of standard women's magazines in teaching the appreciation of high values and standards in family and home as well as in the community have no small influence in shaping rural standards. Mailing-house catalogues have a great reach in rural districts; their influences are difficult to gauge, but undoubtedly are significant. The subtle effects of advertising propaganda of all kinds, such as bills, posters, colored plates in magazines and periodicals, bargain sales, etc., influence to a greater or lesser degree our choices and the kinds of standards we adopt. In much of our teaching and research heretofore, we have heedlessly overlooked the apparent truth of an old saying of familiar quaintness to all, "Any fool can make money, but it takes a wise man to spend it." Standards-of-life studies take us into the fields of wisely using the farm resources, and of the objective aims of life on the farm.

Meaning of standards of life.—Unfortunately, considerable confusion has been attached to terms used in describing the standards of life. On the whole, however, there seems to be a fairly clear conception of the fields to be covered. Professor Taylor, in his book on rural sociology, clears the ground by stating that, "A standard of living may be one thing and a standard of life may be another, in definitions. Here we are not quibbling over terms, however, but are only attempting to use some criteria by means of which we can measure the adequacy of farm life."² He employs the term "standard of living," in the same sense we shall use the term "standard of life." We believe the latter term more clearly covers the subject matter to be treated. This is in conformity with Dr. Kirkpatrick's terminology, who defines the standard of life as follows: "The standard of life is the sum total of these intangible values conceived as possible from the acquisition and use of goods and the use of time in the fulfillment of

² Taylor, C. C., "Rural Sociology," pp. 108-9, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1926.

human wants.”³ In another instance he states, “Standard of life as here used refers to the objective, the aim, the ideal of the family in regard to its living. It embodies the cultural aspect, the desires and the demands arising through education and through experiences within local and other groups.”⁴

Standard of life is an entity difficult of determination and measurement; it is complex, but not necessarily vague. We find people holding tenaciously to standards which they have built up and about which they tend to center their life activities. They recognize minima and maxima in the prosecution of their productive and consumptive efforts below which they resist sinking and above which they often find it difficult to rise.

Important factors in the formation of a standard of life are tangible elements which can be rather definitely determined and measured. We seek to understand these through various sorts of studies of farm incomes and expenses and of household expenditures of different kinds. These involve standards-of-living studies and level-of-living studies. We have discovered in making such investigations that though we might rather accurately determine what constitutes the farm income, the uses of the income, and the levels of living people actually employ, we did not arrive at the whole difference between standards of life established by different individuals and giving entirely different results. Much of the incompleteness of our results grows out of the fact that people vary greatly as to the values they receive from such intangibles as life spent in the open country, a closely knit family life, self-direction in industry, esthetic enjoyments, and like factors involving a keenly sensitive cultural outlook. The general

³ Kirkpatrick, E. L., “The Relation of Standard of Life to Success in Farming,” *Rural America*, p. 28, October, 1927, The American Country Life Association, New York.

⁴ Sanderson, D., *et al.*, “Farm Income and Farm Life,” p. 127, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1927.

cultural backgrounds, training, social inheritance, nationality, and objectiveness of the individual are concerned here.

Approaches to the determination of the standard of life.—

One of the first steps to be taken in the determination of the elements which go to make up a standard of life is the measurement of the tangible quantities which have considerable use and which are so necessary to round out the proper realization and development of the intangible. A word of caution needs to be offered concerning the measurement of the general items listed in living standards. Money values are frequently resorted to, but these are often poor media; for some individuals gain far greater value and satisfaction from a given quantity of goods and services than do others. Money values give us certain universal evaluations and a fair sort of measure until we can find one more adaptable to the conditions. Dr. Kirkpatrick states:

A variation of the amount of money spent annually, as shown by these studies, is the percentage distribution of the total amount of money for the principal groups of goods included in the family living. Thus, cost of living when distributed among food, clothing, rent, operation goods, and other goods has come to give a clearer and more definite picture of family living than when used to cover all goods used, blanket fashion.⁵

The relations between the size of the family, the size of the farm, ownership and tenancy, and standards of life are difficult of determination. Certain general tendencies we can and do observe and set forth.

ELEMENTS TO BE MEASURED IN A STANDARD OF LIFE

For the sake of clarity and convenience it is necessary to break up the outstanding items into component parts. The

⁵ Kirkpatrick, E. L., "The Farmers' Standard of Living," p. 2, *Bulletin No. 1466, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1926.*

points to which this will proceed are more or less arbitrary. Dr. Frederick Engels, one of the early students of living standards among urban families, in 1857, used the following scheme: "Subsistence, clothing, lodging, firing and lighting, education, religion, etc., legal protection, care of health, comfort, and recreation."

Variations from the above have since been made in studies of the subject. For a farm standard-of-living study the chief items might well include food, clothing, shelter, and furnishings, health, education, religion, recreation, and social advancement. The qualities, quantities, and uses made of these items throw a great deal of light upon the type of standard of life a farm family may enjoy.

Inasmuch as we develop the bulk of our standards in and through family life, the family is a more effective unit of study, for purposes of comparison, than is the individual. The composition of the household and of the family, which may include a consideration of the number of persons of different age groups, presence or absence of relatives, hired laborers and boarders, is a factor which must be considered in arriving at relative and comparable data. The money income of the farm, as well as the perquisites in the way of food, shelter, and the like, furnished directly by the farm, are important factors in giving an understanding of what the farm family has to spend and live upon. In early studies, money income and its uses constituted, in the main, the study of standards. That there are vital elements which are not necessarily reached by such an analysis has been mentioned above.

Dr. Sanderson, in connection with the money income analysis, presents some pertinent thought we need to take recognition of; he states in part as follows:

The ordinary view is that if we could but increase the farmer's income his standard of living would automatically rise. From a purely monetary aspect this is doubtless true, for he will usually spend most of what he receives. Furthermore it is doubtless true

that in a majority of cases increased income does result in a better standard of living. The real question, however, is whether increased income produces the higher standard of living or whether it is not merely a condition which makes possible the attainment of a higher standard, a standard previously recognized as desirable and which itself forms the stimulus for increasing the income.⁶

He adds a quotation from Dr. Devine, a keen analyst of industrial conditions of life, as follows:

That standards were not in the long run determined by wages or other incomes, but that on the contrary standards were themselves the dynamic factor in influencing incomes—is the startling paradox to which all serious study of the subject leads.⁷

Thus we see again the subtleness involved in determining standards of life, when a fairly stable item like income is cast in a role which, though fundamentally correct, is quite the opposite of the ordinary conceptions of it.

Relative significance of certain elements in a standard of life.—That all of the above named elements do not hold an equal importance one with another is obvious. Individuals and families differ as to the significance these hold in their general scheme of life. They possess such elemental importance as lead us to make an analysis of them.

Food: This includes all the items of the farmer's dietary. Those foods furnished by the farm will usually constitute a large and important share. In producing certain of his food requirements on the farm, the farmer is open to considerable instruction and guidance that he may make the best use of his time, efforts, local conditions, and family requirements. In most sections of the country he may enjoy considerable variety in the foods furnished by the farm; proper preservation and storing will assist in making the farm-produced foods avail-

⁶ Sanderson, Dwight, "Farmers Income and Standards of Living," *Rural America*, May, 1925, p. 11, American Country Life Association, New York.

⁷ *Ibid.*

able the greater portion of the year. That many farmers show a laxness or an inadequacy of knowledge along both of these lines is evident to any observer of the farm dietary. A little self-help and a willingness to follow leadership under county agricultural agents, home demonstration agents, public health officials, and standard publications would aid many farm families in raising to a high standard that phase of their living contributed by home-grown foods. Lack of good food, lack of good variety, poor preparation and service are indicative of many other features going into a standard of life.

Clothing: This is an important item because of the satisfaction, comfort, and well-being it provides. Clothing comes directly out of the farm income. It gives considerable range for the exhibition of choicess; and in far too many cases it tends to furnish a false standard of measurement.

Farmers usually select clothing for its utility, and show a tendency to ignore esthetic values. Much of their time is necessarily spent in rough work to which their clothing should, and generally does, correspond. Quality and serviceability are important items to be considered under all circumstances. Neatness and fitness to the occasion are factors which, we observe, many rural residents have a tendency to disregard. Little excuse can be offered for appearing in inappropriate clothing at social gatherings or upon semi-social occasions, as well as in one's work. The self-satisfaction that grows out of feeling properly and appropriately clad forms a part of the ideals of the individual. Young people on the farm show as natural and normal desires to wear appropriate clothing as do young people in urban life. Deadening and stultifying such desires are fruitful of discontent with rural life for many boys and girls on the farm. Attention to sensible details of dress will save unjust comparisons, perhaps forestall the assumption of an inferiority complex often so damaging to youth, and adults as well.

Without doubt there is developing much less of a gulf be-

tween farm people, on the one hand, and urban people on the other, in matters pertaining to dress. In a study, made by the author, of a Louisiana community involving a small city of 8000 inhabitants, the tailors of the city stated that country boys were ordering their suits cut-to-order fully as much as the city boys. The farmer does not have to suffer in a clothes-comparison with any other professional group if he follows the dictation of a standard that involves appropriateness.

Shelter and furnishings: Health, comfort, and esthetic enjoyment are items to be obtained from a house and its furnishings. Rural people have long been content to take less on these scores than have urban people. The farmer has so often built new barns and fences, or bought more acres of land, but managed somehow to get along with the same old house. Nothing but a false ideal of a standard of life explains such practices. Happily there is a tendency in the opposite direction. The development of a rural home architecture is under way in numerous states. Some agricultural colleges are offering prizes for the best plans for rural homes; agricultural journals and other like agencies are also stimulating this development. The activity of commercial interests in designing farm lighting and sewerage systems has also been beneficial. Scattering here and there throughout the countryside examples of modern farmhouses often works more immediate results than any other method of approach. Certainly the home and its furnishings are a developer and a reflector of standards of life.

Health: This is a factor of no small consequence. If living conditions are such as to menace health standards, or if ideals along these lines are low, efficiency will be impaired and the satisfactions of life dwarfed and stunted. There are latent in the rural environment itself both advantages and disadvantages along the lines of health. It is an observable fact, however, that rural residents lack knowledge about health factors that is of sufficient value to permit them to make

full use of their environmental assets and offset the disadvantages.

Rural children, as well as the farmer and his wife, have not been receiving the attention as to health that is their just due. Farm people too frequently show relatively early in life the aging effects of their exposures, work, and health habits. Nurses, hospitals, physicians, and sanitarians are all proportionately fewer in rural areas than in urban areas. Organized society has been doing less to preserve healthful conditions in the countryside than in the city. The degree of attention one gives to his health and health conditions for home and family constitutes a phase in the makeup of his general standards.

Education: Educational status and ideals are quite reliable indices of the standards of life of a person or of a group; much in life that is permanent and soul-satisfying in character comes through the channels of enlightened intelligence. We are concerned in learning of the farmer's interest in both formal and informal types of education. With the former, one equips himself with a framework of knowledge and ideals; and with the latter, he carries on in continued appreciation of this beginning.

In the field of educational service the country areas have suffered handicaps which have laid a heavy burden upon the realization of the higher standards along the lines of education. The social and physical isolation of the country resulted in small schools of elementary character and relatively few social contacts. Ideals of education have tended to be placed upon a low plane and to be given little relation to a successful career on the farm. Reading material, educational associations, and literary attainments have held secondary values. The farmer has been slow to put his faith and finances into educational channels as a means of attaining higher standards of life. That this is all changing we shall see in the chapter devoted to this phase of social life.

Religion: This is one of the unique means we have of interpreting life in its most idealized forms. If religious institutions are dwarfed, poorly supported, and ill adapted to life's problems, we have to assume that the standards of the people are correspondingly weak and backward. That the church and its allied institutions and organizations in the country have come to a state of lowered efficiency as interpreters of life is evident on all sides. We measure the status of these institutions through the channels of their support, distribution, attendance, and hold upon the people.

Recreation: This is a natural means by which one may unfold and develop better and more satisfying ways of living. Some of the richest joys of life come through the avenues of recreation. When we study rural areas for types of recreation, facilities for recreation, and consciously planned programs for development through recreation, we find great inadequacy. Rural residents have many excellent opportunities along these lines, but they have failed in a large way of sensing the significance of this factor.

Social Advancement: Man is so largely a social being that he requires much in the way of facilities for his social life and development. The frequency, intensity, and variety of social contacts become good indices of how farmers build up this item in a standard of life. Isolation and the labor processes of the farm have, without doubt, been retarding influences along these lines.

MEASURING STANDARDS OF LIFE

It has been mentioned in a former paragraph that we have no satisfactory means of measuring in full the elements going into the makeup of a standard of life. Monetary standards are helpful in all of our analyses, but we need ever to be mindful of their shortcomings. A dollar's worth of an article to one person may mean considerably more or less to another

person. Quality and quantity are also helpful measures, but these fall short of completeness for much the same reason. Relative differences of standards between city and country are useful in a degree only. In our grasping for a staff or rod we have tended to confuse the meaning of farm life by a continual cross reference to city life. This has been more or less natural because of the social advancements taking place in the city; it should not blind us, however, to the necessity of setting up standards of appraisement consistent with the rural environment and a rural culture.

Food items.—One of the first items of interest in a study of rural standards of life is to determine the extent the farmer can and does provide for himself and family through home-produced goods, and also to determine his general food habits.

Edith Hawley, of the Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, reported, in 1926, a study made of the food consumed during one year by 1331 farm families in selected localities in Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, and Ohio. The table on page 145 gives us a number of significant facts relating to the food consumption of these families.

We see by these data that the farms furnished directly for the farmer's food consumption two-thirds of all the food used. The chief foods furnished by the farms varied somewhat in and between the states, but meats, including poultry, lard, milk, cream, butter, cheese, eggs, various kinds of vegetables, and fruits, constitute the chief items furnished by most farms. In some sections, molasses, honey, corn meal and buckwheat will also be furnished by the farm, and used to a considerable extent. Miss Hawley found that for meat, eggs, milk, cream, fruit, and vegetable consumption, the farm family ranks higher than the city workingman's family; also, that on the basis of 1923 price levels, the total food consumption of the city workingman cost \$133 per adult-male unit, and the farmer's about \$175 per adult-male unit. The city

TABLE 10

AVERAGE VALUE OF THE FOOD CONSUMED PER FAMILY DURING ONE YEAR AND ITS PROPORTION OF THE AVERAGE VALUE OF ALL FAMILY LIVING ON 1331 FARMS OF SELECTED LOCALITIES IN KANSAS, KENTUCKY, MISSOURI, AND OHIO, 1922-1923⁸

State	Fami- lies In- cluded	Average Size of Household		Average Value of All Family Living	Average Value per Family	Food	
		Persons	Adult Male Units for Energy			Proportion of Average Value of All Family Living	Proportion Pur- chased
Kansas.....	Number	Number	Number	Dollars	Dollars	Per Cent	Per Cent
Kansas.....	406	4.6	4.3	1492	632	42	36
Kentucky....	365	4.3	4.3	1483	596	40	29
Missouri....	178	4.3	4.0	1897	717	38	27
Ohio.....	382	4.4	4.0	1541	570	37	39
All 4 states...	1331	4.4	4.2	1559	616	40	33

workingman's food cost approximately 24 per cent less than the farmer's, but yielded 37 per cent less energy.⁹

Interesting differences between states were brought out in the above study:

Beef, potatoes, dried fruits, beans and peas, were used in larger quantities on the farms of Kansas, and Ohio. Kentucky and Missouri led in the consumption of pork, bacon, lard, molasses, and corn-meal foods, which usually play an important part in the south-

⁸ Hawley, Edith, "Average, Quantity, Cost and Nutritive Value of Food Consumed by Farm Families," *A Preliminary Report*, p. 15, Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., August, 1926.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

ern diet. Milk, cream, eggs, and poultry were consumed in larger quantities in Missouri and in Kansas.¹⁰

Professor Rankin, in a study of 342 Nebraska farm homes, obtained data very similar to Miss Hawley's. He found that

Over two-thirds of the food (money value) was home-produced. This includes most of the meat, eggs, milk, butter, and vegetables, and some of the other food.

The owners, part-owners, and tenants produced about 70 per cent, and the hired men about 40 per cent of their food.

A Nebraska farm family spends only half as much money for food as a city wage-earner's family, but consumes home-raised food enough to make the value nearly twice as great.

The English farm laborer gets a little more food than the American city worker but far less than the American farmer.¹¹

Distribution of the total values of goods and services.— We are interested in learning the relative rating and distribution of the different items making up the farm family requirements. In Table 11 we see the details worked out for 2886 farm families in selected localities in the following eleven states: New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Kentucky, South Carolina, Alabama, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, and Ohio.

In Table 11 we observe that food is the largest single item, constituting 41.2 per cent of the total value of all goods used by the different groups; clothing comes next, constituting 14.7 per cent; operation goods come next, constituting 13.3 per cent. Operation goods include such items as fuel, hired help in the home, household supplies, operation of the automobile or horse and buggy, postage, and carfare.

Advancement goods are largest among the items ranking in the smaller percentages; they include such items as school and

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹¹ Rankin, J. O., "Cost of Feeding the Nebraska Farm Family," Summary, *Bulletin No. 219*, Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, Lincoln, Nebraska, June, 1927.

Table 11: Distribution of average value of goods among different groups of articles, proportions of total family living and of food furnished by farm and size of house, by steps of increase in total value of goods used during one year, 2886 farm families of selected localities in 11 states, 1922-1923, owners, tenents, and hired men¹²

Groups of Total Value of Goods Used

	Below \$600	\$600- \$899	\$900- \$1199	\$1200- \$1499	\$1500- \$1799	\$1800- \$2099
Number of families.....	58	280	579	614	492	332
Average size of family, persons.....	3.0	3.4	3.7	4.1	4.8	4.8
Average size of household, persons.....	3.3	3.6	4.0	4.5	5.1	5.3
Average value of all goods, dollars.....	486.10	778.60	1055.00	1338.80	1639.30	1932.40
Proportion of total for food, %.....						
Clothing.....	54.4	52.1	47.6	45.3	43.0	39.8
Rent.....	11.6	11.9	12.6	13.8	15.1	15.4
Furniture and furnishings.....	12.5	11.6	13.0	12.7	12.2	13.5
Operation goods.....	1.5	1.6	2.1	2.3	2.9	2.5
Maintenance of health.....	13.2	14.1	14.2	13.6	12.9	13.3
Advancement.....	2.1	2.6	3.0	3.5	3.4	3.9
Personal.....	1.9	2.7	3.6	4.4	5.5	6.3
Insurance, life and health.....	2.3	2.1	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.5
Unclassified.....	0.5	1.2	1.6	1.8	2.6	2.5
Total.....	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.3
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Proportion of living furnished, %.....						
Proportion of living purchased, %.....						
Total.....	55.6	52.9	48.9	46.3	44.0	42.1
44.4	47.1	51.1	53.7	56.0	57.9	
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Proportion of food furnished, %.....						
Proportion of food purchased, %.....						
Total.....	69.0	70.6	67.9	67.5	67.5	66.0
31.0	29.4	32.1	32.5	32.5	32.5	34.0
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Size of house, rooms per household.....	4.4	5.4	6.2	6.6	7.0	7.5
Size of house, rooms per person.....	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.4
	\$2100- \$2399	\$2400- \$2699	\$2700- \$2999	\$3000 and Over	All Value Groups	
Number of families.....	196	116	83	136	2886	
Average size of family, persons.....	5.3	5.4	5.7	6.2	4.4	
Average size of household, persons.....	5.9	6.0	6.5	7.0	4.8	
Average value of all goods, dollars.....	2240.10	2529.40	2854.00	3778.00	1597.50	
Proportion of total for food, %.....						
Clothing.....	37.2	36.2	33.6	30.7	41.2	
Rent.....	15.8	15.5	16.0	16.4	14.7	
Furniture and furnishings.....	12.6	12.3	13.1	10.9	12.5	
Operation goods.....	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.5	
Maintenance of health.....	13.5	13.6	12.4	12.5	13.3	
Advancement.....	4.6	3.8	6.7	4.8	3.8	
Personal.....	7.5	9.8	9.7	13.4	6.6	
Insurance, life and health.....	2.6	2.5	2.7	3.8	2.6	
Unclassified.....	3.1	3.3	2.9	4.5	2.6	
Total.....	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Proportion of living furnished, %.....						
Proportion of living purchased, %.....						
Total.....	39.5	38.2	38.1	31.7	42.8	
60.5	61.8	61.9	68.3	57.2		
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Proportion of food furnished, %.....						
Proportion of food purchased, %.....						
Total.....	65.5	64.7	67.8	63.2	66.9	
34.5	35.3	32.2	36.8	33.1		
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Size of house, rooms per household.....	7.9	8.2	8.2	8.6	6.8	
Size of house, rooms per person.....	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.4	

¹² Kirkpatrick, E. L. "The Farmer's Standard of Living," p. 29, Department Bulletin No. 1466, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1926.

college education, informal education expenses, organization dues, church, Sunday school, and missions, Red Cross aid, recreation, and art.

The variations in distribution between the different income groups listed in the table are significant and will be discussed in the following section.

Economic status and standard of life.—The close general relation between economic status and the standard of life leads us to look more closely at these relations. Dr. Frederick Engel formulated four important deductions from his early studies which have stimulated much thought and speculation. He arrived at the following general conclusions:

1. As the income of a family increased, a smaller percentage of it was expended for food.
2. As the income of a family increased, the percentage of expenditures for clothing remained approximately the same.
3. With all the incomes investigated, the percentage of expenditure for rent, fuel, and light remained invariably the same.
4. As income increased in amount a constantly increasing percentage was expended for education, health, recreation, amusement, etc.¹³

An application of Engels' statements to Table 11 shows that they do not apply in all details to the farmer's distribution and use of his income. Engel's first and last statements are substantially true as shown by the table. As we pass from the group below \$600 income to the group of \$3000 and over, the proportion expended for food changes from 54.4 per cent in the former instance to 30.7 per cent in the latter instance. Also, as the income increases the proportion of it expended for education, health, recreation, amusements and the like, in-

¹³ Quoted from Streightoff, F. H., "The Standard of Living Among the Industrial People of America," pp. 12-13, Houghton Mifflin and Company, New York, 1911.

creases. In the case of expenditures for clothing, however, we note a gradual increase in its percentage proportion from 11.6 per cent to 16.4 per cent as income increases; Engel stated that for workingmen the percentage for this item remained approximately the same. The percentage spent for rent remains fairly constant, showing, however, a sharp drop in the \$3000 and over income group. Professor Thaden, in a study of 451 farm families in Iowa, shows quite different results for the rent item. In his study the lowest income group was placed at \$900 and showed 19.7 per cent of the income spent for rent. The gradations in income extended up to incomes of \$3300 and over. The study showed a gradually diminishing percentage going to rent as income advanced to the \$3300-and-over group, which spent 10.1 per cent of its income for rent. Both studies are contrary to Engels' statement on this item. Operation expenses, which include fuel, household help, automobile upkeep and the like, show slight decreases in Professor Thaden's study, but a fair degree of constancy in Table 11. Other significant points to be observed in Table 11 are: almost a doubling in proportions going to furniture and furnishings in the higher income groups as contrasted with the lowest income group; not much change in the proportions going for personal items, which include such things as gifts, jewelry, toilet articles, candy, tobacco, etc.; no great difference in the proportion of foods furnished by the farm except that those families in the higher income groups tend to purchase a slightly higher proportion of their food, and, therefore, raise a slightly smaller proportion of it than those in the low income groups; the size of the house and the size of the family both show increases as we pass from the low income group to the high income group.

Undoubtedly one of the key items shown in Table 11 is that for advancement. We observe a steady climb in proportions of incomes going to this item from 1.9 per cent in the case of the group below \$600 to 13.4 per cent for the group with a

\$3000-and-over income. Inasmuch as this item embraces those things which minister to the higher and more intangible features, such as education, organizational life, church, Sunday School and recreation, we are led to conclude that the higher income group does, on the whole, maintain higher living standards.

Uses of advancement goods.—Professor Mumford made a study of standards of life in a number of Michigan rural areas, including a fruit district of 166 farm homes, a general farming area of 117 farm homes, and a dairying area of 140 farm homes. He has brought out a number of significant features relative to the economic success of the homes and the uses made of such advancement goods as leisure hours, both at home and away from home, time spent in organizational life, the educational attainment of the individuals, and the reading they carry on as shown by farm papers taken. He has given us a tabular arrangement of his data in a combination table which embraces all three of the districts studied; the data are found in Table 12.

We observe by the data contained in this table a regular gradation in all columns except in one instance, which exception is found in the portion of the table relating to women of the average income group and in the column relating to average leisure hours away from home. Farmers and their families have more leisure, are better read and educated, and take more part in organizational life as their economic status rises. Mumford states in summation of his study:

. . . that it is not the average income-group of farmers who have the highest standards of life or the greatest interest in community welfare, but rather it is the farmers that belong to the highest income class. Moreover, the data also show that those farmers with the highest standard of life can and do compete successfully with farmers having lower standards and that the analogy of cheap money driving out dear money as applied to low standards and high standards of life does not hold. Those in the upper class not

TABLE 12

COMBINATION OF DATA FOR COMMUNITIES A, B, AND C¹⁴*Men*

<i>Income Classes</i>	<i>Number Persons</i>	<i>Average Leisure Hours at Home</i>	<i>Average Leisure Hours Away From Home</i>	<i>Average Hours in Organizations</i>	<i>Total Leisure Hours</i>	<i>Average Number Farm Papers Taken</i>	<i>Average Years of Schooling</i>
Below average....	65	426	548	27	1000	2.2	6.4
Average.....	251	631	588	40	1260	2.4	7.6
Above average....	107	855	852	85	1792	2.8	9.1
<i>All classes.....</i>	<i>423</i>	<i>649</i>	<i>649</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>1352</i>	<i>2.5</i>	<i>7.8</i>

<i>Women</i>							
Below average...	65	445	443	38	895		
Average.....	251	639	435	52	1029		
Above average...	107	891	743	97	1722		
<i>All classes.....</i>	<i>423</i>	<i>673</i>	<i>554</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>1052</i>		

only have a higher income but they are able to earn this income in a shorter work day than the other classes, giving them more leisure hours at home, away from home, in organizations, and for reading and other educational activities.¹⁵

Here we see brought out an important point in social development, viz., if competition necessarily led downward evolution would from the beginning have been a downward process rather than an upward one. It is further illustrated that both higher standards and more income are frequently the product of either better intelligence or more training.

We again recognize a point stated in an earlier paragraph of the chapter, that the relation between a high standard of life and economic power seems to be somewhat according to

¹⁴ Mumford, Eben, "Relation of Different Degrees of Economic Success of Individual Farmers to their Standard of Life," *Farm Income and Farm Life*, p. 140, by Sanderson, et al., University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1927.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

the words of Dr. Devine, "That standards were not, in the long run determined by wages or other incomes, but that on the contrary standards were themselves the dynamic factor in influencing incomes." In our rural propaganda we have tended to place the cart before the horse, and too long have striven to obtain higher income upon the sole basis that it would automatically take care of the advancement of farmers. Greater income with opportunity to advance standards may go into increasing the farm to the size which the farmer can best use. Also there is often a leakage due to the buying of worthless investments which satisfies a gambling impulse but does not increase standards. Might not farmers copy a lesson from industrial workers and set up their standards first? The minimum wage and the eight-hour day are standards of living for the workers which have assisted in bringing them a more stable and dependable income than they ever before experienced.

Professor Thaden in his Iowa study concludes that "in general, economic, educational, religious and social factors are closely inter-related, and that a rise or fall in any one of these major factors influences the others."¹⁶ He gives the following statements as significant of low standards of life, especially as revealed through a low proportion of income going to various purposes of advancement.

1. They live on small farms, in cheap, inexpensively furnished houses, with few or no modern conveniences or facilities, and but a small library.
2. The education of the farm-operator and home-maker and their children is limited. Their expenditures for formal education, reading matter, organization dues and contributions to the church and Sunday School are low.
3. Neither the operator nor home-maker is likely to hold mem-

¹⁶ Thaden, J. F., "Standard of Living on Iowa Farms," Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 238*, p. 84, Ames, Iowa, August, 1926.

bership in farm, fraternal, religious or social organizations nor participate in their activities.

4. Their work days are long and unmixed with vacations or special trips. The local paper is their chief source of information on current topics.

The foregoing conditions are reversed, on the average, with families which have the highest standards of living, as represented by comparatively high proportions of total household expenditures being devoted to advancement.¹⁷

Size of family and standards of life.—There is seemingly considerable argument to support a contention, in the case of urban families at least, that children restrict and hamper the family in the attainment of high standards of life. It is stated that none or very few children are brought into those urban homes desirous of high standard levels. However true this may be of urban families, it does not seem to hold for rural families where the number of children is not large. In this connection we quote again from Thaden's study in Iowa:

If the proportion of total expenditures devoted to advancement is indicative of the standard of living, it would appear from Table VI (in the study) that the standard of living is lowest in homes with few or no children, or with no children at home, and that the standard of living rises slightly among families as the number of children increases until those with five children are reached. Families owning their farms and with five or more children at home spend two to two and one-half times as large a per cent of their total expenditures for advancement as families with few or no children or none at home. There is no considerable difference among tenant families of different sizes.¹⁸

Children on the farm and in the home help round out the lives of adults. We need to examine closely our statements when we say that children are a hindrance to the attainment of high standards of life; the criteria of standards are undoubt-

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-99.

edly faulty in many such cases. Children discipline and give ambition to the rural parent who without such motives might drift. This shows more in the country than in the city since the farmer so largely controls himself while the urban workers are under supervision, but there is a limit beyond which children cannot help farmers advance on account of the added expense they bring, moreover, the ambition does not necessarily increase with the children.

Dr. Kirkpatrick in his studies in the 11 states named in an earlier paragraph states, "Turning to the averages for families with the different numbers of children supported, it is noted that the value of all family living increases somewhat irregularly from approximately \$1100 for families with no children to over \$1950 for families with six or more children. Were this increase distributed regularly it would mean an extra cost of slightly more than \$140 per child, regardless of age or sex."¹⁹ In further explanation of the influence of this increase in family living, he writes that "the increased value of all goods used indicates a rather gradual raising of the standard of living. The combination of both suggests that, although the total expenditure is greater as the number of children increases, it is not sufficiently great to provide as high a standard of living for the large families as for the small families."²⁰

The turning point in numbers of children in the home up to which standards rise as children increase in numbers and beyond which standards decline for like reason would naturally vary with the social and economic factors. We need much more light upon this important feature of the farmers' standard of life.

Professor George H. von Tungeln, of Iowa State College, takes the stand that "Perhaps the time has now arrived to teach the farmer, or for the farmer to teach himself, to pro-

¹⁹ Kirkpatrick, E. L., *op. cit.*, p. 39.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

duce only two children per family where now he is producing four or more.”²¹ He thinks such a procedure would help secure the maximum in living standards and stabilize the rural population element. He points out that there is a tendency working in this direction at present as the average size of farm families is decreasing.

Size of the farm and standards of life.—Other things remaining equal, the standards of life rise with an increase in the size of the farm and come to a balance at the point where the number of acres and size of the economic units meet in the best manner the abilities and capacities of the manager. Thaden says:

The proportion of total expenditures going for items of advancement, which in this study is considered largely indicative of the standard of living, increases irregularly with the size of the farm, among owners.²²

Social differences and standards of life.—When considerable gulfs exist in both social and economic groups, standards of life will likewise be found variable. It is a noticeable fact that farm tenants and hired men, by and large, do not maintain such high standards of life as do owners. Racial differences also tend to make for similar variations.

Professor Taylor in a Missouri study has given us some facts which represent the case of social differences and standards of life. He shows that in a southeastern Missouri section of 422 farm families, of which only 41 were owner families, wide differences in standards of living existed. He states:

We discovered not only a very wide discrepancy between the standard of living of the great number of hired-men families of the community and the standard of living of those who owned the farms upon which the hired men worked, but found also a wide

²¹ *Rural America*, December, 1927, p. 10, The American Country Life Association, New York.

²² Thaden, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 103.

difference between the standards of the hired men and that of the resident owner-operators.²³

Although the community was rated as wealthy, three of the five rural churches were abandoned, and countryside institutions neglected, the uses of the wealth being devoted largely to the nearby town where most of the farm owners lived. Taylor states further:

This whole rural area constitutes a rural slum, not because it is not a prosperous agricultural area, but because there is present in it a maximum economic status group and a minimum economic status group.²⁴

Zimmerman and Taylor, in studying the living conditions of some 1000 farm families in North Carolina, found a number of contrasts indicating a considerable range in standards of life. Tenants of this group were living on a lower scale than farm owners, as shown by their smaller and less commodious homes, less use of recreation and amusement, poorer education and weaker support of churches.²⁵

One of the outstanding problems of society is that of raising standards of life that fewer disturbing social gulfs may exist between people who must live in harmonious economic relations with one another. There is little doubt that the wide difference in standards of this sort sometimes so evident between farmers and townsmen is basic to the distrust and misunderstanding one often holds towards the other. Where the standards of the two approach similarity more co-operation develops.

Improving the rural standard of life.—We have been enabled by the discussion thus far to see that a standard of life is a complex of factors. It is composed of too many elements

²³ Israel, H., and Landis, B. Y., "Farm Income and Farm Life," p. 147, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1927.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149-150.

²⁵ Zimmerman, C. C., and Taylor, C. C., "Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers," College of Agriculture, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1922.

for us to single out any one or two and say these are the determining factors. Any means of improvement, in a large way, must involve the whole community. There are so many elements going into the standards of life which involve community aid in obtaining their supply and flow, that community action becomes the most efficient means of their supply. Recreation, art, church, literature, schools, trading centers, furnish obvious illustrations of how necessary it is to have community action and co-operation in raising standards of life.

Education.—Enlightenment of the individual is of course a direct and fruitful aid, such as teaching better choices, ideals, and rational methods of weighing and evaluating conditions and situations in life. Individuals without the proper perspectives are unable to bring about for themselves the most wholesome and satisfying relations. The school, the church, the home, and organized social life are institutions to give ideals, orientation, and leadership. The ways people learn to think, act, and appreciate in their early experiences in these institutions are determinative of these responses later in life. The leaders of rural life, such as parents, teachers, and ministers, have a large share in preparing for higher standards.

Culture.—A well-developed and generally accepted culture for rural life is needed. Standards for education, recreation, religion, organization, economic enterprise and political institutions, need to be set for the rural population.

Storck²⁶ states that a culture offers four important elements as follows:

- (1) Association, or the fact of living together—a fundamental mode of life and arrangements which make the group a unit. This it is that makes the members feel that they "belong," and it is the single most important fact about a culture. The basis of social union differs from one culture to another.

²⁶ Storck, John, "Man and Civilization," p. 34, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1927.

- (2) Schemes for providing and distributing the things held to be basic to life and well-being. These schemes determine not only what natural resources are used for these purposes, and how they are used, but also the various occupation groups with their specialized functions, monopolies, privileges, etc.
- (3) Ways of understanding and controlling the phenomena of nature and of life, and arrangements (formal and informal) for imparting these data to new members of the group.
- (4) A large number of special associations, groups, clubs, circles, etc., both to perform the above functions and to minister to the various more special interests of members of the group.

A well-constructed and well-defined culture knits a people into greater unity, sets up standards, helps to educate to these standards, and tenaciously seeks their maintenance. Rural life in America is needlessly variable in its relation to broad culture phases; this variability hinders it in erecting uniform standards.

More efficient farming and better business methods.—All efforts to develop higher efficiency in farming practices and business methods are of fundamental importance to attaining better standards of life. These serve to enable the farmer to increase his incomes of different kinds and to direct profitably their uses.

Editor H. A. Wallace, of *Wallaces' Farmer*, has said, "Extension campaigns should be started to eliminate marginal acres, marginal methods, marginal cows, marginal sows, and marginal men."²⁷ Here would be a method of increasing standards and increasing efficiency.

Better farming, better business, and better living enable farmers to move in step with and take their part in advancing civilization. Uneconomic methods levy a toll which has to come out of the business and serves to hold back, to just the degree they operate, the individual who practices them.

²⁷ Israel, H., and Landis, B. Y., "Farm Income and Farm Life," *op. cit.*, p. 123.

CHAPTER VII

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

Backgrounds.—Throughout the preceding chapters much evidence has been presented to indicate that a distinctive psychology easily may develop under rural environmental influences. As Dr. C. J. Galpin states:

The environmental influences surrounding human life, labor, and intercourse on the farmstead furnish a set of pressures and strains upon the farm life, the physiologic, mental, and social effects of which we may observe and judge. Here then is the beginning of a psychology of farm life which may, as time goes on, be elaborated by the psychologist and sociologist who happen to possess rural sympathy and farming imagination.¹

We may well look for a moment to see what has been typical and influential in the farmer's backgrounds that would call forth a consideration of psychological factors. Without reckoning with the present or the future of rural life, we shall find in the past much to give basis for the development of a rural psychology; and a basis for a set of responses, modes of thinking and acting characteristic of persons constantly under the influence of typical rural environments.

After breaking away from the prescribed régime of the feudal and semi-feudalistic states in Europe, and of their limited variety in early American colonial life, the farmer was thrown more and more upon his own resources. We have seen that, in the main, he retained many of the social advan-

¹ Galpin, C. J., "Rural Life," p. 32, The Century Company, New York, 1918.

tages of the older system. These were conserved through the closely-knit community life of the northern colonies and in the plantation life of the southern colonies. In a large sense his industry was of his own making, and he was a small, independent entrepreneur; this is a significant status for anyone to hold in any walk in life. Coupled with this independence is also the fact that agricultural enterprises have been largely of a self-sufficing sort until well towards the present century.

Farming has always involved the application of man's strength, thought, and planning to mastering the growth and production processes of nature. It has meant a first-hand negotiation with natural phenomena which, within itself, is sufficiently subtle in its influence to give characteristic modes and responses to one regularly under its sway. Lately, and uniquely typifying American farm life, has been the effect of scattered and relatively isolated farmsteads. In Chapter III we examined the causes for this state of conditions. Isolated farmsteads have been common for a long enough period to have added their effects to the development of a rather typical American rural psychology. The pioneers of our domain, already possessed of a personal freedom new to men, found in the scattered farmstead, under a self-sufficing agriculture, materials for the development of a unique set of responses.

During most of the history of the settlement of America the farmer was largely master of his own destiny. He was obligated to few other groups in any details which seriously affected the currents of his economic enterprises. His social life also was much of his own making. His first and last thought was to make a farm and to clothe, feed, and protect his family. These strenuous enterprises contained a selective influence to the extent that only the self-reliant, strong, ambitious, initiating individual could succeed. Farming, like other callings, has tended to select and develop types. The

types in agriculture must be individuals who can find contentment in relative social isolation, and satisfaction and economic well-being in self-directed enterprise; who have a love for the open spaces and the contests with natural phenomena; and who do not have at least an aversion toward work processes which demand goodly portions of manual skill.

Under conditions which have been prevailing, the farmer has tended strongly towards individualism. Chiefly in terms of his own plans, efforts, and resources in conjunction with nature, has he interpreted success or failure. Social and economic organization, group co-operation, the necessity of successful negotiation day after day and year after year with other men, and men of various minds and manners have not been his problems.

The rural consciousness.—In any psychological study of individuals one of the first factors to determine is the relation of conscious states of mind to behavior. We are thereby the better enabled to understand and evaluate the range of conscious processes in giving direction and purpose to plans.

There are many factors entering into the make-up of the farmer's rounds of labor and living which have been conducive to the development of habitual responses. It is easy, therefore, for him to drift into a state of acting through habit or custom, giving little thought to an analysis of a different way. Undoubtedly an outstanding cause of this condition is the fact that his activities have been so little dictated or directed by others, so that his conscious states have limited opportunities of running counter to other conscious states. After acquiring the methods of farming commonly practiced in his locality, he tends to drift into a state of inertia relative to any change. Custom and tradition are the chief avenues through which he acquires these methods. The main factors demanding any change have been those dictated by nature and not by counteracting minds.

Rural consciousness, therefore, is one keenly aware of phys-

ical environmental demands. This is quite the opposite of urban consciousness. The latter must become flexible and responsive to other planes of consciousness constantly crossing and recrossing its own range of activity. These facts are essential in understanding the differences between a rural psychology on the one hand, and an urban psychology on the other. The conditions of weather, soil, season, crop, and animal life, are the factors largely determinative of the farmer's conscious responses, and, as Angell states:

The lawyer, physician, priest, teacher, bank clerk, book agent, and day laborer has each his characteristic gestures, attitudes and habits of thought which mark him distinctly in the eyes of the expert. If we make essential and radical changes in any of these fundamental habits, it is because of some change in our circumstances which renders us sensitive to the need for readjustment.²

Farmers, in the main, are reared in the rural environment, also, quite generally, the particular type of rural environment in which they engage in their farming enterprises. Thus, there is little likelihood of a break in habit systems acquired in adolescent years. Growing up in the business, and in a particular type of the business, generation after generation, tends to drive more deeply the characteristic responses of the individual. We may expect, therefore, to find in an occupation as broad and diverse as agriculture different psychological responses patterned after the particular type and mode of life, such we do find and recognize—these will be developed later in the chapter.

Habit and the farmer.—Habits are great savers of energy and thought; they are also obstacles and ossifying possessions. The large body of habitual techniques accompanying any form of agriculture, when acquired by the farmer boy, tend to stay with him, and act both to save thought and stifle improve-

² Angell, James R., "Psychology," p. 74, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1908.

ment. Habits acquired in youth are tenacious in their hold; thus we see the value of teaching farm youths good habits of farming. We see also an explanation of the persistency of outgrown and obsolete habits in agriculture inasmuch as the large proportion of farmers have been born and reared on farms, and on farms similar to their own.

Educational methods in rural life must ever be alert and up-to-date to inculcate in the habit-forming processes of the young people of the farm the better and more approved methods of agriculture and rural life. Thus we have the psychological basis for boys' and girls' club work, vocational courses in the schools, demonstrations, and reading courses. No period in habit formation is more susceptible to change than that of the adolescent.

James has well summed up for us the significance of habit. He states:

Habit is thus the enormous fly-wheel of society, its most precious conservative agent. It alone is what keeps us all within the bounds of ordinance, and saves the children of fortune from the envious uprisings of the poor. It alone prevents the hardest and most repulsive walks of life from being deserted by those brought up to tread therein. It keeps the fisherman and the deckhand at sea through the winter; it holds the miner in his darkness, and nails the countryman to his log-cabin and his lonely farm through all the months of snow; it protects us from invasion by the natives of the desert and the frozen zone. It dooms us all to fight out the battle of life upon the lines of our nurture or our early choice, and to make the best of a pursuit that disagrees, because there is no other for which we are fitted, and it is too late to begin again.³

This is a strong statement of the case, no doubt, but one filled with much meaning and importance. We have little way of knowing the number of persons who are farming be-

³ James, William, "Psychology," p. 143, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1910.

cause their "nurture or early choice" doomed them to that end, and who find habit responses too firmly set to make a change, even though the occupation has proved disagreeable. Farmers' sons and daughters labor under natural disadvantages as well as advantages in growing up on the farm. They are inconveniently situated to get a proper view of other callings and modes of life; they have little chance to see that of their fathers in perspective and to measure it and its virtues and drawbacks with those of others. Persons who become farmers through habit or propinquity are no doubt numerous. The lure of a new and untried mode of life undoubtedly, likewise, sends many youths from the farm to the city. As a consequence, we find persons farming who are ill adapted to the pursuit, and others, in the cities realizing they made a mistake by leaving the farm. This introduces us to the psychological reasons for broadening rural education and rural contacts through all legitimate channels. In a less important degree perhaps urban districts have a similar problem of giving city children a chance to learn of the offerings and conditions of rural life.

It becomes incumbent upon our educational systems everywhere to aid and not hinder boys and girls in finding their real life work. This cannot be done without a tolerant and balanced program of training. Providing farm boys and girls or urban boys and girls with a narrow range of interests is psychologically unsound. Our problem in rural sociology and in rural education becomes one of breaking in on a closely-fenced occupation bristling with endemic habit-forming pitfalls, and setting up new and better conditions more in accord with modern-day life and progress.

The rural self.—The farmer early learned the value of self. To him self-reliance has become almost an obsession. From the days of the patriarchal family system to the present the self-side of the farmer has been emphasized.

First of all the farmer requires control over, or the owner-

ship of, several different forms of property before he can prosecute his occupation. Under the old patriarchal régime he was sole owner and director of all things pertaining to his occupation. In terms of these possessions did he interpret himself. Self became personified in his possessions of wives, children, ancestors, flocks, herds, and fields. As of old, the farmer is still a great possessor of property—the greatest we have today—and he is still its director and interpreter. Although society no longer recognizes ownership in wives, children, and ancestors, the ideals of the common bond, if not of obligatory service, have persisted rather definitely in rural family life.

The pioneer farmer was almost wholly absorbed in self-directed and self-interpreted industry. All his round of duties, such as building a home, clearing the land, raising, harvesting, and preserving the crops, clothing and rearing his family were little removed by short cuts of machinery or social organizations from his and his helpmate's immediate integration of self. Successes and failures alike fell upon self, and the self partook of their attributes. Farms are legion in which the personality of the owner is incorporated in numerous ways and places in fences, barns, home and surroundings, and even in the fields and live-stock. These farms all reflect the results of the characteristic plans of the farmer. In a large sense he has been, and still remains, a first-hand creator. The farmer cherishes his property; he holds a certain adoration towards his brute possessions as he sees them develop under his care and management. He may actually attain a degree of love and endearment for the fields and lanes, the woods, the stream, the homestead, and, to quote the poet, "E'en the Old Oaken Bucket which hangs in the well."

The farmer feels so keenly concerning his possessions and their subjective significance that acts of commendation or condemnation relative to them may seriously be taken unto himself. He is quick to resist offenses cast at his possessions;

a thrust at his, of whatever sort, is a thrust at him. Appraisals of his property are likewise appraisals of him. In contrast to this intense development of the material self, we find the social self of the farmer retarded or dwarfed, or dulled by comparative disuse. James states, "*A man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him—,*"⁴ and, he later adds, "as many different social selves as there are distinct groups of persons about whose opinion he cares."⁴ The farmer has had relatively few individuals to recognize him and few distinct groups of persons about whose opinions he has cared. The experiences he has had along these lines have been confined chiefly to limited associations of persons in his kind of occupation and his ways of living.

Propinquity.—With the farmer, as well as with all classes of persons, nearness of place or relationship plays a large part in the development of self. The farmer's groups are necessarily limited in number and range. His family comes first among his propinquity groups. He and his family have been driven in upon themselves so persistently that a strong tendency towards familism exists. His successes are reflected in them and theirs in him. He seeks first of all in his counsels with others the approval at the family fireside, here as nowhere else in all society are the problems of a business talked over and canvassed pro and con; here the farmer lives and develops his most unique and intimate social-self. His next propinquity group is that of his nearby neighbors; towards them he shows much deference. The fear of their criticism is real; the desire for their praise is motivating. Many a farmer has been held to the straight and narrow path of custom in the conduct of his farm operations, because of the fear of neighbor criticism should he try a new method. The social-self of the farmer is sensitive to neighbor comment. Nothing is more biting than to be labelled "putting on airs" or "scientific feller." The approved and time-honored prac-

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

tices of the neighborhood are the safest to follow if one would avoid wounding the social-self. Generally considered, a good farmer is a hard worker, a careful husbandman, a neighborly neighbor, and a generous father. Few farmers have hoped to attain an approved social-self without a reputation for good work habits. This sort of philosophy naturally grows out of the history of the rural situation. Most of the farms and farming in America have been developed by free labor through the handicraft and planning of the farmer and his family. Settling and developing a new country meant hard labor; none other than those gifted both temperamentally and physically could hope for success in the enterprise. Moreover, there is even today, with all of our labor-saving devices, plenty of hard labor to be performed on the farm. But management and business abilities have come to have a larger significance as the technical processes of the farm develop and as farmers are drawn more and more into the competitive fields of economic life.

Outside the neighborhood, but perhaps within the community, the farmer desires a favorable recognition from business associates, such as banker and merchant. Here he wishes to capitalize in a material way upon his standing. Here, perhaps first of all, is where pressure has come to bear upon the old psychology of the farmer and to force a new alignment. The banker, the merchant, and the farmer under the developing urge of commercial agriculture have had greater and greater need for one another. The banker and the merchant have required a stricter accounting on the part of the farmer; the farmer has often rebelled, but the socialization process is on and is determined to proceed.

THE THOUGHT PROCESSES OF THE FARMER

The farmer is both a direct thinker and speaker, and is forceful in each in his own way. He generally does not

possess a wide range of descriptive terms, but gives much expression through the ones he uses. Rated on a comparative basis with many other business groups his thoughts flow more slowly, and his expressions of them are generally more terse and straightforward, often lacking in the refinements of language. The farmer's modes of expression grow out of the practices of his locality and partake of the prevailing localisms.

Fatalism.—Attitudes of fatalism are so frequently met among rural residents as to lead many people to characterize farmers as fatalistic. Attitudes of fatalism grow out of an unscientific régime, and are persisted in to the extent individuals fail in understanding the forces operating about them. Visitations of natural phenomena are probably particularly responsible for initiating such an attitude. What could men do in the face of tornadoes, floods, drouths, earthquakes, pestilences, and insect swarms? It takes a strong social consciousness to see a solution to such phenomena through the efforts of man. A state of resignation and social palsy helped isolated individuals and groups to bear these burdens. There is some solace in a philosophy that explains the rebellious forces of nature to an act that is "willed" and cannot be circumvented. Needless to say, such a philosophy is deadening to progress. This attitude of fatalism and resignation has shown a tendency to extend into social and economic phenomena, and to stifle farmers from seeking to understand them, to mold them, and to work in and through them in the control of their business and social relations.

Superstitions.—Superstitions linger long in rural districts. Many are associated with the weather and the signs of the Zodiac. The apparent harmony sometimes between signs and phenomena, together with the richly colored legends connected with signs, make many superstitions difficult to eliminate. Dr. Taylor says he "assembled 467 different superstitions and signs which are known, and to some extent believed, in rural

communities. The majority of them, 54.9 per cent, have reference to climate, weather, plants, and animals. Over one-fourth, 27.8 per cent, have reference to climate and weather.”⁵

Widely disseminated signs relate to the moon in its different phases and appearances. As Dr. Williams states:

The most important rule was that certain agricultural operations should not be begun in “the ‘ole of the moon,” that is during a waning moon. This rule was followed by the farmer in a great variety of operations. He would not plant anything in the “‘ole of the moon,” would not trim his trees in the “‘ole of the moon,” would not kill his hogs or tap his trees, or set his hens in the “‘ole of the moon.” He planted, killed and tapped “in the moon” as he called it, that is, while the moon was waxing. Many farmers would do anything in the waning moon, that did not involve the processes of growth for its fruition.”⁶

A belief that a growing moon meant fruitfulness and a declining moon meant the opposite has long influenced the superstitious centering about the moon.

In some groups superstitions and signs became so numerous and involved as to constitute an elaborate body of formulae for the proper conduct of farming and even personal relations. With the gradual appearance of science in industry and daily life many of these fanciful notions are passing away. The scientific work of the United States Weather Bureau has done much to banish weather signs and signs relating to the moon.

Convictions.—The farmer is usually a man of deep convictions, so much so, in fact, that by some he is dubbed “hard-headed” and obstinate. He arrives at his conclusions through much independent thinking. As indicated in a former paragraph, his streams of consciousness are not broken frequently by other individuals or circumstances, so his thoughts have

⁵ Taylor, C. C., “Rural Sociology,” p. 464, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1926.

⁶ Williams, J. M., “Our Rural Heritage,” p. 43, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1925. Reprinted by and with permission of and special arrangement with Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., authorized publishers.

free play to maturity. Under his conditions of living, therefore, he has opportunity for concentration and considerable depth in thinking, although his range may be correspondingly lessened. The city man has less opportunity to arrive at self-won convictions, because his streams of consciousness will be broken in upon more frequently, and his thinking is likely to have less depth, but more range.

Williams has shown how dependence on the uncertainties of the weather, season, and rainfall has helped to give the farmer an attitude of indecision. He is prone to put off making up his mind until the last minute. This, no doubt, is an element of caution taught by hard experience; once a decision has been made, he is likely to be persistent in it—a virtue often made to defeat its value by an assumption of obstinacy. A deft and skilled flexibility of mind that can make capital out of a decision reversal comes through much social contact and social experience; this the farmer has been deprived of to the extent of making him feel defeated and uncomfortable if he reverses himself.

In matters somewhat removed from his experiences, the farmer is likely to meet handicaps through convictions arrived at through his independent mode of thinking. Here we find him often resisting a new method, machine, or process because of his caution and preconceived notions concerning it.

Conservatism.—Practically all of the operations of farming teach conservatism. Farmers make money slowly, at irregular periods, and in small amounts. Rapid and frequent transfers of commodities have small place in their income problems. Compared with most other groups in society, they realize only very nominal interest rates on their investments, even over a long period of time. Saving, thrift, industry, and conservative spending carry most farmers along in fair circumstances from year to year. Conservatism naturally becomes a prime factor in rural life. In social affairs, likewise, as well as in the economic, the farmer is so situated that he

is removed from rapid changes in the social world. This isolation from the changes of custom and convention causes the farmer to get out-of-date on social developments, and as a consequence he may tend to discount many worthy social improvements and follow unduly long his time-honored practices. It has required greater effort on the part of the farmer to keep up-to-date than is the case with people in more congested places of living.

In Chapter IV it was brought out that there is a tendency for the old people to linger on the farm and in the nearby village, thus giving a greater overlapping of generations than is the case in city life. It is a well-recognized fact that old people are more conservative than young people. Old people are great preservers of custom and tradition, thus we see that the country gets a strong coloring of conservative elements.

Conception and fogyism.—Conception may be thought of as the processes by which ideas are produced and mentally amalgamated about certain central axes. Concepts are savers of mental energy. The fixation of concepts, like the acquisition of habits, makes thought and perception less round-about. Like habits, also, concepts are made with considerable rapidity and ease in early life and show a tendency towards more or less permanent fixation as one approaches middle life. A mind kept flexible through new concept formation will necessarily be less rigid with advancing years than will one which has little chance in the circumstances of life of meeting new situations in an ever changing social environment.

Common observation shows that as people restrict the avenues for new concept formation they tend to drift into a condition of out-of-dateness, old fogyism, and unsympathetic response. Country people have been somewhat justly accused of these faults. For them, however, the problem of coping with these conditions has been more difficult than for persons enjoying better facilities of communication and response.

Human contacts of a vital and necessary sort keep the mind open, fertile, and working on new and changing conditions. Group life, recreation, art, and literature are other ways of preventing a "closed in" mental life typical of one who has become a fogey.

Memory.—Memory is often (unfortunately too often) the farmer's ledger and note-book. The commercial farmer is finding that his memory can be used to better advantage than trying to fill it with records and dates which belong in his books of the business. Many farmers, however, have shown a prodigious memory for such things and for other events; seemingly they schooled themselves in the art.

The farmer's rounds of life and work are cast into the regularly recurring sequences of seasons. Events outside of this order are few and often far between, so one event does not crowd the other until the first one has been well lodged in the mind. The farmer has much time to think over and live over events which have been both pleasurable and otherwise; as a consequence, he has been able to retain a recollection of happenings long after their passage. The mind of man is intolerant of voidness. When people habitually live in considerable social isolation, they tend to dwell upon past experiences; hence the farmer is inclined to recall and review events that have long since transpired. The feats of ancestors, or of neighbors, or of self make good material for constant recollection, so also do grudges and offenses.

Resourcefulness of the farmer.—The multiplicity of tasks every farmer meets in the conduct of his business from day to day requires that he readily assume many roles. Some of the numerous ones may be as follows: veterinarian, machinist, fence builder, field hand, horse trainer, painter, and carpenter. The changes in weather, soil, and plant and animal growth order changes in his methods and modes of work, sometimes upon a moment's notice. He may plan to the last detail his next day's program only to have it entirely upset within a

few moments by a change in weather conditions. Needless to say, only those individuals possessing much resourcefulness will succeed as farmers. Individual initiative and management are needed to keep up productive work in spite of the constant changes and fluctuations.

The farmer's temperament.—Some of the features of temperament have been discussed under other sections in this chapter; sufficient mention will be given here to direct attention to the subject and to place before us several factors necessary to a more complete understanding of the farmer's psychology.

Temperaments, like other elements in the make-up of personality, undoubtedly are influential in directing one toward or in his economic and social positions; they have their influence upon one's relative success or failure in these various fields. Disposition is a word often used for temperament, and by it we usually mean a person's general reaction toward others, whether jovial, excitable, melancholic, or sour.

Dr. H. C. Warren, in his "Elements of Psychology," states:

Temperament is the phase of character which develops out of our desires and emotional attitudes. It is the permanent cast of our systemic life. In general a man's temperament develops quite independently of his intellect. . . .

While temperament is not so important a factor in life as intellect or the other phases of character, it should not be overlooked in our study of the mind, nor yet in education. The choleric and to some extent the melancholic temperament are a practical handicap in meeting the situations which confront us in social life.⁷

We noted in a former paragraph that the farmer is taught conservatism, and that he is inclined towards a fatalistic attitude of mind. These qualities tend to give him a cautious and conservative temperament. Furthermore, his family life is closely-knit and depends for its success upon considerable

⁷ Warren, H. C., "Elements of Psychology," p. 350-51, Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1922.

adult leadership and direction which helps to develop dictatorial attitudes.

Because of his social isolation and the development of habit systems during early years on the farm, the farmer has been strongly addicted to following customary practices. Custom, tradition, and the ways of the older people hold rural life to a very stable, sober, and conservative development. Farmers generally make much use of the feast, banquet, or picnic as a means of conviviality. Moderation tempers most of the activities of rural people and gives a like character to the rural temperament. Fads, fancies, and crazes which sweep through the city meet heavy resistance in the country. The farmer rationalizes and deliberates long before accepting something entirely new and different.

TYPES OF RURAL PSYCHOLOGY

We are just beginning to appreciate the psychological as well as the sociological influence of the varying conditions of rural life in America. It has been pointed out in Chapter III that, comparatively speaking, the country is a great mosaic of agricultural belts, and that while there is much similarity in the people and their institutions, there are rather wide differences in their psychological responses and their socialization problems.

As Professor Groves states:

The mind of the farmer is as varied as the members of the agricultural class are significantly different. And how great are these differences! The wheat farmer of Washington State who receives for his year's crop \$106,000 has little understanding of the outlook of the New Englander who cultivates his small, rocky, hill-side farm.⁸

⁸ Groves, Ernest R., "Rural Problems Today," pp. 119-120, Association Press, New York, 1918.

Variations in natural phenomena with which farmers are so closely associated, such as soils, topography, rainfall, climate, plant and animal productions, as well as variations in social and economic requirements, such as modes of living, markets, transportation, exchange, and communication, operate to produce differences in the way men plan, work, play, co-operate, and use their incomes. That there are wide differences in the mental states of farmers under these various influences is not more strange than similar psychological differences to be observed among people under comparable employment and living differences elsewhere.

An apt classification for these psychological types we do not have. This is, in fact, a field in the study of rural life which has been neglected, and yet it is one full of much meaning for the interpreter of rural social affairs.

As a tentative classification of psychological types of farmers based upon types and modes of farming, we offer the following:

1. The specialty-crop farmer
2. The single-crop farmer
3. The general farmer
4. The live-stock farmer
5. The irrigation farmer
6. The rancher

That the lines of demarcation between these types are not hard and fast is obvious upon a moment's consideration of them. Neither do they cover all of the psychological variations among farmers. For a tentative base, however, they serve to introduce us to some of the important psychological reactions among persons engaged in farming enterprises.

1. The specialty-crop farmer.—This is the farmer who produces for a relatively limited and specialized trade. Such farming involves close personal supervision, constantly maintained marketing facilities and contacts, and a close attention

to whims and fancies of a discriminating trade. Flower-growing, bee-farming, production of drug-plants, truck-farming, fruit-growing, production of dairy products, and production of poultry products might be considered examples.

Specialty-crop farmers are quickly responsive to social control; they find it necessary to keep abreast of day-to-day demands for their products, and to conduct their business in a way to attract and hold trade. As a consequence, they are usually very modern farmers; they are quick to avail themselves of new and better methods and implements. Perhaps we might say that their psychological responses approach nearest those of urban business-men of any of the rural types.

2. The single-crop farmer.—We mean by the single-crop farmer one who uses practically all his energies, land, and resources, in the production of one crop, such as the wheat farmer of the Northwest, the cotton farmer of the South, and the alfalfa producer of the West.

It might be stated, here, however, that the single-crop farmer is passing, largely because of the uneconomic results created by the system. The single-crop farmer has more or less of the gambling spirit; he is willing to take a chance on riding on the crest of prosperity due to a large crop and good price, or in the trough of despond due to crop failure or over-production in his line. The single crop allows him much freedom during a large portion of the year. He has clung to his system because he likes to have this time to idle away or to use in some other enterprise. He is not likely to be conservative, but is more likely to be a plunger and a risk-taker. His interests in soil conservation and community building are weak. Tenantry tends to run largely to single-crop lines.

3. The general farmer.—This is the most common type of farmer found in America; he is widely scattered in all areas. He produces a variety of products, most of which are placed on the general markets. His contacts with other groups of business interests may be distant and infrequent; as a con-

sequence his socialization problems have been acute. It is he who has remained the longest a self-sufficing individual. He could nurse his suspicions of distrust of urban business groups because his farm would support him and his family fairly well on an uncommercial régime.

The general farmer is conservative, but his different farm enterprises give him a catholicity of mind on farming affairs not equalled by other farmers. His farming operations are balanced, so farming with him is a stable year-round proposition. He has a permanent interest in community and institutions. He is not a good risk-taker, is slow to give up customary practices, and is reluctant to join co-operative movements.

4. The live-stock breeder.—The live-stock breeder—or producer of the fine strains of live-stock—is no doubt subtly molded by his business. In a sense, he is an idealist, a keen appreciator of animal art, and a most wholesome individual. Ex-Governor F. O. Lowden of Illinois has well expressed the qualities of most men engaged in this phase of farming. He says:

I have in active life come in contact with many classes of men, but for breadth of vision, for warm-hearted sympathy, for all those qualities which go to make up companionable men, I have found no one superior to the live-stock breeders of the country.⁹

The producer of good live-stock in whatever line, whether it be horses, beef cattle, sheep, dairy cattle, poultry, or hogs, must be an individual possessing patience and kindness, liberality, and sound judgment. He must set ideals and be able to work them out through years of study, painstaking care, and close attention to details. He deals with a discriminating buying public and therefore must be keenly aware of the needs and demands of his trade. He enters a field fraught

⁹ Lowden, Frank O., "Our Debt to the Stockmen," *The Breeder's Gazette*, p. 7, February, 1928, Chicago, Illinois.

with problems of management. The live-stock farmer has to keep up-to-date to be successful.

5. The irrigation farmer.—Here is a co-operative type of farmer. Irrigation and drainage ditches demand that neighbors on all sides join hands in assuring one another a free and unobstructed flow of water from farm to farm. This forces a social consciousness seldom seen in other types of farming.

The irrigation farmer is engaged in a highly intensive type of agriculture in which values of land, equipment, and maintenance are great; to be successful he must utilize the best available methods and be ever aware of improvements. These farms are usually relatively small, and their incomes dependable and good. These factors help to produce a close settlement on the land, facilitate community-mindedness, and permit of well-developed institutional life. The irrigation farmer, like the specialty-crop farmer—which he may also be in some areas of the West—develops business-like responses.

Dr. Bailey says:

I like to walk with a man along his ditches in the irrigation country, to keep pace with his confident stride, to share his sense of mastery of the situation. Or if he does not irrigate, the qualified man adapts himself closely to his situation by the expedients of dry-farming, and if he has land and implements and capital enough there is something in his attitude like defiance of the elements. Perhaps it is not without significance that many of the old prophets were dry-land people.¹⁰

6. The rancher.—We have indicated in Chapter III that the rancher deals in broad acreages and an extensive type of farming, which is chiefly growing young stock to be sold to feeders and finishers. There is an expansiveness of mind about the rancher; he tends to be neglectful of small details but keenly mindful of general trends and results. He is truly

¹⁰ Bailey, L. H., "The Harvest," p. 20. Copyright, 1927, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

a man of open spaces, restless under confinement, and dynamic in action. Instead of his isolation breeding suspicion and distrust, as is so often the case with other isolated groups, the rancher is wholesomely social, but no especially co-operative.

THE CHANGING RURAL PSYCHOLOGY

Individualism is breaking down.—It is very plain on all sides that the psychology of the farmer is undergoing a change. He is sensing the fact that to be a success in terms of modern life he must come shoulder to shoulder with organizations and agencies of ever-widening scope. He, himself, is part and parcel of this change as he is continually demanding for his farm, home, and institutional life the modern-day inventions and devices. The way he gets these is by further commercializing his business and furnishing the markets with materials the markets demand. The day of individualism in production and in modes of living is passing. The markets call for grades, standards, and qualities as well as for quantities; the farmer is required to respond to these. Constructively minded farmers do even better; they themselves help consumers appreciate standardization, and seek to set up standards which will bring them greater rewards and satisfaction. The smug complacency and independence of the early farmer is giving way to a greater dependency upon the present-day economic order.

In social life also the farmer finds it difficult to live and enjoy himself within a social field of the limitations of old. He is less and less content to do so with each passing generation. He demands better and larger schools, which mean co-operative relations with a larger group of his fellows. He demands better highways for both his social and economic advantages. He wants better farm papers, daily papers, and magazines. He is building more effective farm organizations, and is seeking to perfect his relations with townspeople.

The neighborhood is re-aligning itself.—That the neighborhood of former days is undergoing a change has been shown by a number of recent studies. Professor Kolb, of Wisconsin, has brought out in some of his investigations the fact that many pioneer neighborhoods have merged, been divided, and changed in character. The growing idea of the rural community has caused the neighborhood to take on a different form, to become less narrow, restricted, and provincial in its attitudes; in many ways, also, to have less general usage, because of the facilities of the enlarging community made available by better transportation.

Town and country relations causing a psychological change.—The farmer is seeing more and more his dependence upon the town. Towns in turn are recognizing the farmer in a more wholesome manner. These changes revamp the whole process of the thinking of the one party about the other and their relations; they bring desirable changes for both. The towns, without doubt, are aiding the farmers to attain higher standards of living. As the standards of the farmer and townsman approach equality, we find farmer and townsman developing greater respect and confidence in each other.

Attitudes of resignation giving way.—There is less and less of the old attitude of fatalism and resignation exhibited by farmers in their labors on the farm and in their dealings with society. The spread of education and science, which gives an analysis of both physical and social phenomena, is responsible for much of this change. Undoubtedly young men and women from the agricultural colleges have carried back to their communities much help and inspiration along these lines. Through co-operative endeavors and through the possession of fundamental facts, farmers are learning to assert themselves in ever-widening fields.

The co-operative movement.—Co-operating with groups on county, state, and national bases in accomplishing many of the aims of their economic, social, and political needs has changed

the entire attitude of farmers towards one another and toward society. The co-operative movement has shown them their strength in united and socialized effort.

Science is replacing custom and tradition.—The old, time-worn practices of the farm are meeting a severe test in the face of science. Improved machinery is welcomed as never before; this releases men's minds for more and straighter thinking, thus giving them time to scheme, plan, and test ideas in a truly objective manner. Galpin says:

Already milk has become a social product. Analysis of milk is perfected. The measurement of its constituents, the knowledge of its chemical and bacterial changes, and the consequent standardization have forced the dairy farmer to relate his milk production not only to the type of animal which he will breed, but to the specifications of the ultimate user of the milk. This social force disturbs the traditions of barnbuilding, of chores, of wearing apparel while at work. The fruit belt territory has become socialized through the demand for standard fruit. Co-operative effort in fruit raising and marketing has been the result. Farmer-breeders of cattle types, of horse types, even of hog types, furnish the best instances of social combination among farmers.¹¹

As science proceeds, provincialism and traditionalism retreat. While much remains yet to be accomplished in getting all farmers to follow the leadership of science, enough has been done to show that science is helping to develop a new rural psychology.

SUMMARY

It has been shown that there are many differences existing in agriculture which give rise to different modes of thinking and responding. For these reasons it is difficult to get mass action from composite groups of farmers. We can expect and

¹¹ Galpin, C. J., *op. cit.*, p. 49.

do get fairly concerted regional or occupational response, for these correspond to the psychological homogeneity of the area or areas concerned. The facts require that we be ever mindful of the necessity of fitting programs of all kinds, institutional aids, advice, legislation, etc., to the conditions and natural responses of the various farmer groups. Lately we have discovered the great potency of commodity co-operation; in this, farmers are associated one with another upon a basis of like economic interest and similar geographical conditions.

Certainly it is now evident that a better knowledge of the psychology of the farmer will aid in developing the sociology of rural life. The many subtle changes coming into modern farming demand that the farmer and his co-workers in society at large adopt programs that will facilitate and foster rural progress.

CHAPTER VIII

RURAL SOCIALIZATION

MEANING AND IMPORTANCE OF SOCIALIZATION

IT MAY aid us in understanding the meaning of the socialization process if we think of it for a moment as something akin to a ritual and initiation process in some of our social groups—lodge, fraternity, club. Similar to the steps of admittance to one of these groups, the individual, in becoming prepared, rounded out, and developed for society, learns a great many things about social ways, responsibilities, relationships, and individual and group responses. He does not lose his individuality, but develops it; while doing this, he also aids in developing his society. He becomes part and parcel of the social fabric of his society, learns to give and to take, to see himself objectively and in relation to the mass. In society, as in the specialized groups named above, the object of the socialization process, like the object of the initiation process, is to aid the individual to develop and refine his instinctive responses, feelings, and habits; to shape up his ideals, evaluations, and general reactions in such ways as to become a comprehending social character in his group or society.

The socialization process is of great value, therefore, in aiding the individual in getting the proper knowledge about society, its forms, functions, and ideals, and in teaching the value of all individuals working conformably in the attainment of purposeful and valuable objectives. We might state it in another way by saying that socialization processes involve all those activities among individuals which bring about the “we feeling,” the willingness and capacity to act concertedly.

This means, in short, the development of social-mindedness, and implies a certain amount of knowledge about society itself.

Professor Cooley aptly states the process as follows:

That the growth of persons is adaptive is apparent to every one. Each of us has energy and character, but not for an hour do these develop except by communication and adjustment with the persons and conditions about us. And the case is not different with a social group, or with the ideas which live in the common medium of communicative thought. Human life is thus one growing whole, unified by ceaseless currents of interaction, but at the same time differentiated into those diverse forms of energy which we see as men, factions, tendencies, doctrines, and institutions.¹

The individual becomes adapted and brought into adjustments with this growing wholeness of society. In the development of socialization among rural people the character of the process is at once fundamental. A willingness and capacity to act together and in proper adjustment with one another and social groups have grown increasingly important as society advances from one complexity of structure to another. Their social and business relations are drawn in and absorbed into this wholeness. In the process rural people do not necessarily resign their unique individualities, but they do have to give up much of their individualism, thereby permitting their individualities a broader and more useful sphere for development. Little in the way of co-operation or community development can take place in rural districts where there is not first a socialization of the individuals. The "we feeling" must be so ingrained that the co-operating individuals will be willing to undergo great stress and strain upon their individualism. This necessarily implies that socialization is not a thing that grows up over-night, so to speak, and captures an individual or a group "lock, stock, and barrel." A social

¹ Cooley, Charles H., "The Social Process," pp. 3-4, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1918.

response becomes in essence a problem of social growth and understanding, which requires time, patience, and adjustments for its development.

GROUP CONTACTS AND SOCIALIZATION

Primary groups.—Professor Ellwood says, "This process of socialization of behavior must begin in the small, face-to-face groups of men. It is in these groups that the individual first learns to imitate others, or to do as others do; first learns to sympathize, or to feel as others feel; receives his first suggestions from associates, and learns to think with them."²

The primary groups above referred to are the first groups in which the individual begins his social life; they embrace the family, the play group, neighborhood, school, and the like. In these small and limited personal acquaintance groups, the individual receives intensive training. Here the principles of socialization may be so interpreted and applied as to develop both a wholesome self and social consciousness, and group tolerance and loyalty. From the members of the family first, the young person catches the lessons of co-operation and personal control.

A congenial family life is the immemorial type of moral unity, and source of many of the terms—such as brotherhood, kindness, and the like—which describe it. The members become merged by intimate association into a whole wherein each age and sex participates in its own way. . . . Without uniformity, there is yet unity, a free, pleasant, wholesome, fruitful, common life.³

To the extent the child learns to orient himself in the family—to give to and receive from the unity or wholeness of this primary institution—to that same extent will he be preparing

² Ellwood, Charles A., "The Psychology of Human Society," p. 127, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1925.

³ Cooley, Charles H., "Social Organization," p. 34, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1909.

himself for the larger phases of individual and group experiences in society.

In the play group the individual carries forward ideas and ideals of reaction toward others which have been learned in the family; he also may initiate new responses and receive new impressions from others. The play group, the school group, and other primary groups are valuable in that they contain a limited cross section of society and cast one more upon his own resources. A somewhat wider democracy is opened up, and the need of a more impersonal code of regulations is made evident. Under the stimulus of play, sport, and recreation, or of working shoulder to shoulder with former strangers, the individual loosens his reserve and molds his self-consciousness into the wholeness of the social consciousness. Sport, especially, is valuable in this development, and is one of the best means of inculcating the ideals of give-and-take for the purpose of furthering the objects of the sport and preserving its benefits to all. The individual is given to see that team-work is the only safe procedure.

Professor Ellwood⁴ gives three chief ways in which the primary groups influence social behavior and thereby aid in developing socialization: *First*, through socializing the individual. These groups furnish the framework which aids in developing the individual to a normal social status. His instincts, habits, feelings and ideas are given the field and work needed to bring out the social character. *Second*, primary groups are the chief carriers of custom and tradition. It is in and through them, especially the family, the play, and the neighborhood groups, that the approved and venerable practices of whatever sorts are handed on to the individual. He acquires these quite unconsciously, especially so in the case of a child or young person who has built up no former backgrounds. *Third*, primary groups are the source of primary social ideals. Such ideals as love, service, self-

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 121-125.

sacrifice, and human brotherhood are formed in the family group. The ideals of freedom, justice, and good citizenship are built up in the neighborhood and school groups; the ideals of square dealing and fair play are formed in the play and recreation group.

Professors Giddings and Ellwood hold that the groundwork in the socialization of the individual is formed, in the main, in the primary group experiences; that it is upon this he builds through secondary group contacts, and only as he has obtained the principles in the first can he profit to the fullest in the second.

Secondary groups.—Much emphasis has been laid upon the meaning and importance of the primary group, but in so doing there was no intention of losing sight of the significances of the secondary groups in the socialization process. There is no gain-saying the fact that the primary groups are of basic importance, but at the same time the process is hardly complete without the added influences coming from the secondary group experiences. Rural people, especially, have shown an arrested and underdeveloped socialization largely because they have confined themselves so much to the primary group contacts. Within these groups, under the relative isolation of the countryside, custom and tradition tend to hold a firm sway, and provincialism often develops. Emphasize the primary group as we will, there is a needed influence which must come from the secondary groups.

These secondary groups involve all the organized life activities existing over and above the primary group formations. They include the various economic classes, such as merchants, business and professional groups; community groups of various sorts, such as marketing associations, county societies, town and country organizations; state and national groupings, such as live-stock organizations, the National Grange, and the American Farm Bureau.

Professor Ellwood, in discussing secondary groups, states:

Though secondary groups are relatively late in origin, there can be no question but that they have contributed much to the behavior pattern of modern men. The state, especially, has set up standards of loyalty, of law-abidingness, of obedience, and of service which have had the greatest influence upon the behavior of civilized men. . . . The student should not fail to note that for the past four or five thousand years the state has been so ascendant that individuals more willingly sacrifice their lives for it than probably for any other group, with the possible exception of the family.⁵

We find it difficult to evaluate the full significance of the secondary groups in their influences upon human society. In a sense, they reach down into the primary groups and tend to give them a direction and trend that will be of the highest interests to the secondary relationships. The economic and professional groups are constantly reminding us of their rights and privileges, of their ethics and codes of conduct. The religious sects likewise frame regulations of far-reaching import from the point of view of the individual. The problems of the city, the state, and the nation are of increasingly absorbing importance; to the extent we enter into them and solve them, to that extent we increase our well-being and develop our social relations. People's interest and socialization must extend beyond the primary groups if they are to build and maintain a social order. Those groups of individuals not well represented in secondary group relations are sure to be retarded and left behind in a developing social organization.

Fundamentally important as the primary groups are to the farmer, we cannot leave him to these alone, or permit him to gloss over in a passive sort of way the larger groupings of which he needs to be a part for both his sake and that of society. It has already been indicated in another place that one of the prime problems of farmers is their disjointed relations with and misunderstandings of many of these secondary groups of society. Any scheme of socialization which drives

⁵ Ellwood, Charles A., *op. cit.*, pp. 134-35.

the farmer more deeply into his own limited primary groups without a program for enabling him and these groups to become a part of the larger groups of community, county, state, and nation is defective.

Socialization a continuous process.—Socialization, we may well see by this time, is a means of intensifying and widening our interests, developing personality, building up the social order, and preserving harmonious interests. It may be of dynamic and useful influence throughout life, or it may reach an early and limited maturity and leave the individual or the group static. Blackmar and Gillin,⁶ in their "Outlines of Sociology," interestingly describe the socialization of an individual through his various contacts from birth to old age and death. They show first the influence of the child's parental home and family circle; how his first lessons in human relations are learned from parents, who impart the ideals and values of love, authority, obedience, protection, and the like. Brothers and sisters help develop a small democracy within the family, in which give-and-take relations among the children fraternize them and teach respect of others' rights. Children learn their lessons of socialization more readily from associates oftentimes than they do from elders. Outside the home the child is forced to adjust himself to wider and less intimate groups; sometimes this is a very painful process. As he reads and delves into the literature of the ages, vast sources for ideas and ideals are opened to him from which he may select and use planning and ingenuity as to their application to his conditions. "Adolescence brings the youth a crisis which makes necessary new adjustments to life."⁷ In church and school his circles are ever widening, and his forming habits and ideals are partaking of his environmental influences.

In marriage a new situation arises of adjustment to a life

⁶ Blackmar, F. W., and Gillin, J. L., "Outlines of Sociology," pp. 292-95, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

partner. Here old habits, customs, and ideals may receive a severe test and a need of modification. If children come into the individual's home, he will be further socialized in an entirely new way through parenthood. This will search the depths of his soul and being and certainly give him an opportunity for fullest development.

As the children grow up both parents are concerned with the success of the children. How they bow themselves to the drudgery of life that their children may be the fulfillment of their dreams! Again, they have learned to adapt their conduct to the accomplishment of their purposes. They learn to work with others in the enlarged responsibilities of family and civic life. They are still more socialized.⁸

Often after rearing the family, and with the advance of old age, socialization of the individual ceases, and *status quo* reigns.

Habits, as well as arteries, harden and cannot bear the strain of new demands. However, sometimes one sees old people who possess a youthful outlook upon life. . . . They sympathize and encourage the younger, . . . and somehow have faith that the golden age is in the hands of the young and vigorous, as it once was in theirs. A sane charity marks their conduct. They have succeeded in adjusting their lives even in old age to the ways of a new generation.⁹

Thus we learn again how basic socialization is in the building of the individual and society. In Chapter VII, on rural psychology, we learned of the fixity of habits and responses which tend to come early in life to people living in more or less social isolation, following practices which have met little change from generation to generation. Under such conditions

⁸ Blackmar, F. W., and Gillin, J. L., "Outlines of Sociology," p. 295. Copyright, 1923, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

⁹ *Ibid.*

socialization can be carried on only with difficulty; that it is needed goes almost without saying, but how to bring it about so as to help the people lift themselves out of their limited and confined ranges of social existence is the problem of all students of rural life. Our next task is to examine the agencies of socialization available to country people.

RURAL SOCIALIZING FORCES

Land and other natural agents.—Buckle, Semple, Huntington, Kelsey, and others have shown us in convincing treatises the important dependence of man upon the physical environment. This dependence is reflected to a greater or lesser degree in the types of social life and institutions men erect under varying natural conditions of environment. We noted in Chapter III the relative differences of rural environments in the United States. Here we shall briefly mention some of the effects that physical features seem to have upon the socialization of the farmer.

Character of the soil: Where lands are fertile, expansiveness may come to characterize the attitudes of farmers with a tendency to place socialization upon horizontal planes. There are greater social gaps between landowners, tenants, and hired labor than there are where lands are less fertile. This expansiveness may take on a sort of rivalry in the form of building programs—large barns, homes and the like—or land buying. Class distinctions, which hinder institutional life, tend to develop. On relatively poorer soils there is a greater democracy, but less capacity to attain the higher ideals in socialization levels. Where hills and mountains are so great and numerous as strongly to influence agriculture and settlement, we shall find pockets among the valleys of isolated congenial groups, but with limited ranges of contact and social life. We may also find small scattered groups or individuals throughout the hills and mountains who have become so pro-

vincialized as to be unable to socialize with any but their own kind and in their own limited ways.

Williams has expressed it thus:

The social conditions of the hill country, particularly the isolation, also encouraged an easy-going attitude. . . .

Because of the lack of initiative resulting from the topography and the isolation the farmers of the hilly parts of the state were less quick to adopt new agricultural methods, slower to raise their standard of living and generally more fixed in adherence to custom than those in the valleys. The farmers in the hill country to the south and east of our typical town retained the uncouth dress, the speech and manners of the backwoodsman long after these had been discarded in our typical town. The hill farmers not only kept their primitive ways but had a kind of conceit that their ways were the best.¹⁰

On the other hand, farmers in broad open spaces, like the ranches of the West and Southwest, possess a more cosmopolitan attitude and hearty welcome for strangers and newcomers. Although distances are great in these areas, the effect of this sort of isolation is not the same as that caused by hills and similar barriers.

Climate also seems to have an effect upon socialization, although the exact nature of this influence is still somewhat in doubt. It has been said that the southern farmer, because of his warm and genial climate, possesses greater conviviality and hospitality than his northern neighbors, who it is stated are inclined to be reserved and uncommunicative. Huntington and Dexter, in their interesting treatises on climate and geographical influences, indicate that in those climates which permit of much outdoor life people mingle more freely with one another and develop more socialized responses than where the rigors of climate cause one to spend goodly portions of his

¹⁰ Williams, J. M., "Our Rural Heritage," p. 28, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1925. Reprinted by and with permission of and special arrangement with Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., authorized publishers.

time indoors. However true this may be we do know that climate, in a large measure, dictates types of farming which in turn have direct effects upon the farmer. In the South the plantation developed because of large, open tracts of land, a climate suitable to plantation crops, such as tobacco and cotton, and the ease with which the Negro could be introduced from his native clime and used for labor power. From the start the plantation was a more or less isolated unit of several types of people. Much hospitality accompanied the system as a means of offsetting the isolation, and properly to care for guests and strangers who did not have access to taverns or inns.

In systems of irrigation-farming we see again the indirect influence of climate upon social life. Irrigation is employed in those areas of dry climates where water can be conducted by ditches and canals and spread over the land. This type of farming requires well-developed social arrangements. We might cite many other instances in which it seems clearly demonstrated that climate has a subtle influence upon the degrees of socialization of farmers.

Waterways: Rivers and streams were early arteries of communication. Throughout their courses, in many sections of the country, we find the oldest settlements and the most closely knit neighborhoods and communities. The author has been impressed by the uses made of streams and bayous among the peoples of Acadian descent in southern Louisiana. Invariably have they built their homes along the streams, sometimes in closely compact settlements resembling a rambling village street, and even today the stream is a chief means of communication and transportation.

Small timber belts skirting streams, and prairie-timber lines, both of which are so common throughout the central-western states, have been of outstanding importance in the early settlement and development of these regions. Several factors help account for the influences of these areas upon the

social and economic life of the people. In the first place, the early settlers had not acquired techniques that would cope with prairie conditions. Their plows would not handle the tough prairie sod, good drinking water was often difficult to obtain, firewood and building materials had to be brought from timbered areas sometimes over long distances, chills and fevers, because of large areas of stagnant water in some parts of the prairies, made for unhealthy conditions. In the timber, on the other hand, everything was available for early operations in farm and home building. Wood, water, fruits, nuts, herbs, and game were usually plentiful, and the soil was easy to cultivate after it was cleared of growths. The timber-prairie areas were tempting to settlers because of the relative thinness of timber growth and the interspersed tracts of rich dark soil. As a consequence of the influences of the waterways and timber belts, we find the oldest farms, roads, schools, churches, and towns located in reference to their contributory advantages.

Roads: Improved highways, trolley lines, and railroads are valuable instruments for furthering socialization. We often note the clustering of homes along the routes of main highways. We have seen how towns and cities spring up along railroads and other highways. These means of communication all aid in bringing people closer together for the conduct of their various life interests.

The nearness of markets and social centers has had a great influence upon the social life of farmers. Other things being equal, as a rule, those individuals who live close to centers of population are more responsive to social changes and improvements in rural affairs than are those who live at considerable distances from centers. Good roads and automobiles help to annihilate distance and to spread out over much space these values incidental to nearness to population centers.

Improved highways are considered so necessary to rural development that the demand for them within recent years has

exceeded the abilities of the various political units to provide them. There are approximately 3,000,000 miles of highways of all kinds in the United States; of this number, about 500,000 miles are now hard surfaced, most of which have been built within the last ten years. The hard-surfaced roads and the automobile are helping solve many of the farmer's acute isolation problems. From the point of view of economics alone, the decreased cost of transporting farm products over the better types of surfaced roads has been estimated at upwards of \$75,000,000 saving. Hard-surfaced roads permit of all-weather and all-season marketing of farm products, which enables farmers to take advantage of market variations at any time of the year. Consolidation of schools must await the surfacing of roads in many areas. Good roads also stimulate wider contacts between neighborhoods and communities and between town and country populations. They permit of a wider and more dependable rural mail service and the extension of medical service from town centers into surrounding rural districts.

The automobile and the *auto-truck* are closely linked with road improvement. That they have come into greater and wider use is now almost a commonplace. Their virtues are also generally recognized. E. R. Eastman in his stimulating book, "These Changing Times," states that, "In the nation as a whole in 1900 there were 8000 cars. In 1925 there were 17,512,638 cars and 2,441,709 trucks, or nearly one car for every family in the United States. In 1924 farmers alone owned nearly 4,500,000 cars and nearly a half million trucks."¹¹ He states further, in defending the farmer's rapid entry into the automobile-owning class, that "In spite of the fact, however, that in some States more than half the farm families own cars, yet farmer ownership of automobiles is not out of proportion with that owned by other classes."¹²

¹¹ Eastman, E. R., "These Changing Times," p. 10, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927.

¹² *Ibid.*

The automobile has given untold service to the farm house-wife and farm children in helping to multiply their contacts and to break in on the natural isolation of the farm home. Most of our programs relating to rural organization and social development are so constructed that the automobile is almost a necessity to permit the farm family to attend with the frequency and regularity expected.

The telephone also has become a real necessity in most farm homes. Its social values must be given a high rating, for it is operative as a medium of communication between friends and neighbors during all kinds of weather conditions. It is a great annihilator of distance thereby bringing to the farmer distinct advantages in his business relations with other individuals. During the past twenty years the number of rural telephones has increased from about 1,500,000 to over 3,200,000 in the United States. The census of 1920 showed that 38.8 per cent of all farms in the country had telephones.

Radios are of a somewhat different socializing influence from telephones. They are one-way mediums of communication—from the centers of population outward. They furnish information of great value on market prices and trends at a time when it is most needed by the farmer. The entertainment and educational programs over the radio have found much patronage and appreciation in rural districts. Radios are undoubtedly helping to break down sectional differences, and are thus permitting the development of broad cultural levels among the people. World news, college extension lectures, religious services all enlarge and extend the value of the radio to the farmer. Weather bureau predictions and reports on crop prospects are eagerly sought by many radio users on farms.

Surveys made by the United States Department of Agriculture show by careful estimates that in 1923 there were 145,000 radio sets on farms in the United States; in 1924, 365,000 sets, and in 1925, 553,000 sets. This tremendous increase with-

in two-years' time indicates the appreciation of radio service by country people.

Reading material: The socializing value of reading material is undoubtedly very great. The extension of newspaper services, of books, magazines, and periodicals, is noteworthy in progressive communities; their relative absence in unprogressive communities is likewise significant. The type and character of this material in circulation will furnish a fair index of the social life and ideals of the people. There is such a close connection between reading material and education that details concerning it will be discussed in the chapter devoted to educational institutions.

Neighborhood and community enterprises.—Neighborhood enterprises, whether they be social, religious, educational, or economic, teach the art of working together and develop the "we feeling." These are generally face-to-face groupings. Propinquity plays a large part in the formation of these groups. Farmers and their families "neighbor together" within the small neighborhood groups more thoroughly than do city folk. Honest, wholesome, and helpful relations are built up by this sort of conduct. Lending implements and exchanging labor, both in the home and on the farm, are common within the neighborhood group. The giving of counsel and advice also is a desirable feature and leads to the development of common ties and interests. Undesirable features may grow out of the neighborhood group life if ideals are not kept high by the injection of new ones from the larger world and by good leadership. Sometimes such groupings may become stagnant and characterized by petty gossip, vulgar joking, and an amazing amount of superficiality. An effort has to be made to prevent such a drift; the larger contacts within the community will aid in furnishing ideas and subjects that will detract from the time-wasting practices of the smaller group.

Within the community, which is that larger area of which

the neighborhood is only a part, and which may include a trading center or area of various types of social and institutional life, the farmer has his less frequent and less intimate social contacts. The farmer is just beginning to find himself in this area and to acquire through it a more effective socialization. He learns to work with strangers in developing common purposes and common institutions, to have an objective view of his business, and to deal effectively with the larger aspects of rural life as they touch other forms of life. The shortened time-distance between homes within the community caused by the uses of the automobile and good roads is facilitating the spread of a community consciousness among rural people. In some cases this has been hastened by the need of large scale co-operation to fight insect pests and animal diseases. The consolidation of rural schools, the federation of churches, and the need for co-operative marketing and buying agencies have all forced the recognition of the value of this larger group experience.

Rural festivals, pageants, and recreation.—The feelings and emotional responses of an individual are stimulated through various forms of recreation and entertainment. Feelings and emotions are great driving forces in human society. Out of the proper use of the play, pageant, festival, and other forms of recreation some of the most enduring and useful socialization of individuals may take place.

Blackmar and Gillin in discussing the agencies of socialization among primitive men state:

Not only association in active games, but association around the campfire at night in the groupal settlement, did much to solidify the feelings of the group. Stories were told and songs were sung recounting the deeds of famous heroes and mighty warriors, and group actions were set forth in the lyric dance. Moreover, household and community meals did much to cultivate the common feeling and idealism which makes possible co-operation. Among every primitive people of which we have any evidence feast days were

very numerous and played an important part in the promotion of social unity. So ingrained in the very roots of the race is the habit of eating together and so effectively does it, even in our highly artificial society, conduce to the cultivation of sociability, that no great project is launched, no occasion for securing co-operation among men, who to begin with may not be agreed upon a program, is complete without a dinner or luncheon or a banquet.¹³

Historical pageantry is in its infancy in rural social development. Luckily for rural communities, as contrasted with urban communities, they are still small enough and sufficiently homogeneous that festivals, pageants, and games may appeal to and include large portions of the population as participants. These forms of socialization in the country may still partake of the personal touch, holding out a reasonable opportunity of inculcating all or almost all groups. This is a key-point in developing interest and contact, and in reaping the maximum socializing value.

MEASUREMENT OF SOCIALIZATION

Types of the socializing process.—It has probably been evident to the reader that all so-called socializing processes may not have equal socializing power—that some possess superior virtues over others. Surely the kinds of contacts individuals and groups have available, and of which they avail themselves, play a significant part in the final results. Further developments in the science of sociology will give us more definite material on these and allied points. The nature of farm work and the distances of farm homes from one another and social centers, dictate relatively fewer contacts for the farmer than for the townsman. Within certain limits, also, the variety of contacts is determined by the rural environment. Farmers naturally meet one another and mingle more freely in rural

¹³ Blackmar, F. W., and Gillin, J. L., "Outlines of Sociology," p. 300. Copyright, 1923, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

groupings than with other groups. Our aims and plans for developing more effective socialization for rural folks need to be cognizant of the fact that many urban plans are impracticable for rural conditions. A re-working of such plans is often needed, and a search after native and particularly fitting schemes is always necessary.

Social leaders need to help plan a balanced socialization scheme for different modes of rural life. It can be fairly well claimed that farmers generally need more diversification in their plans. Rural sports and forms of recreation need special study and application; better and more *adaptable* reading and library facilities need development; some practicable means of bringing the farmer and other occupational groups into contact with one another is still an unsolved problem. Sensible considerations have to be held in mind for the farmer's space, time, and work problems. To harangue at the farmer to go to meetings, plays, and picture shows, and to read books, etc., beyond what is a reasonable limit for his conditions of life accomplishes no good. Rural social surveys have been productive of tables and diagrams showing deficiencies all along these lines, but really constructive plans of helping the farmer meet these deficiencies have not been so evident.

Professor Hawthorn, in his "Sociology of Rural Life," has endeavored to make definite and concrete study of the quantity and quality of the social contacts of the farmer. His scheme of evaluating rural social contacts is given as follows:

Under this system social contacts are rated as A, B, or C, depending upon their relation to the social development of the community or the individual. Thus, all events that had a pronounced educational, devotional, and inspirational influence, or that had a positive effect upon the upbuilding of community life would be classified as A type events. Most observers would agree that chautauquas, institutes, study circles, sensible sermons, standard music, clean motion pictures, art exhibits, and quality home-talent plays would class as A, and that such contacts as would come from

gossip clubs, inferior motion pictures, and other things of this character would rank as B or C. Naturally, such a method is only a rough grouping, since certain events are difficult to class as A or B. Yet, it makes it possible to present a fair comparison of two communities as to the quality of their social and cultural life.¹⁴

Professor Hawthorn, in studying the socialization of Iowa farmers in several western Iowa communities, has given the figure on the next page as somewhat typical of the ways in which the farmer secures his social contacts.

A study of the figure shows that for some of the features which would fall into an A classification, such as certain types of club work, public speaking, chautauqua and lyceum attendance, and participation in games, the farmers had a relatively small number of contact-hours to their credit.

As a general scheme for deciding what is high, medium, and low socialization in terms of contact-hours, Professor Hawthorn,¹⁵ in a study of 49 typical farmers selected at random, has suggested the following plan:

Low socialization—below 300 annual social contacts

Medium socialization—300 to 700 annual social contacts

High socialization—above 700 annual social contacts

In the proper utilization and direction of spare-time activity among farmers, the above-named author found that for 1300 hours of annual leisure time available, 725 were spent as non-social hours, 468 were in type B or C social contacts, and only 107 hours were utilized in type A social contacts.¹⁶ Undoubtedly there is considerable relation here between the utilization of leisure time and the prevailing standards of life. A better direction and employment of leisure time is a means of raising standards along these lines. Mumford's studies in Michigan,

¹⁴ Hawthorn, H. B., "Sociology of Rural Life," p. 74, The Century Company, New York, 1927.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

as previously reported in Chapter VI, showed that the farmers with the highest standards of life had a greater number

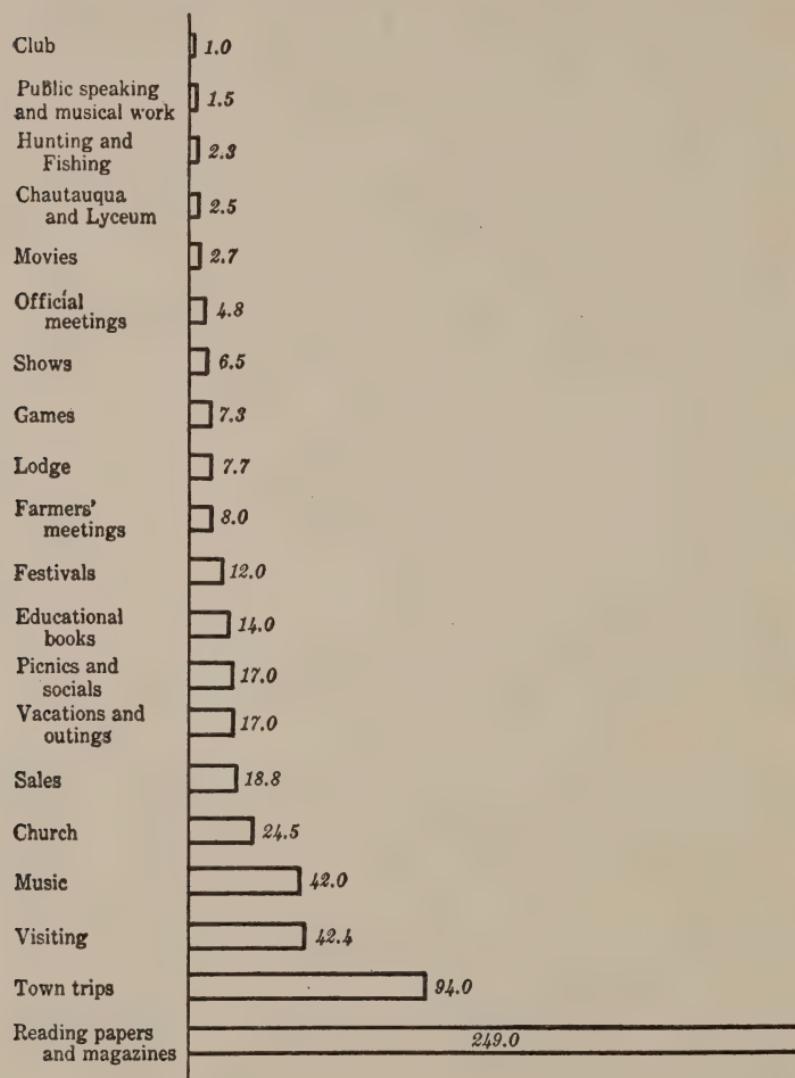


FIG. 9.—Comparative Social Contact Contributions of Various Social Agencies to the Farmer's Socialization¹⁷

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

of leisure hours, and that they employed them to a better advantage than did farmers in lower groupings.

The studies above reported are suggestive of much value to be gained by critically analyzing the frequencies and make-up of the social relations of rural people. It is doubtful if we can catalog and diagram them as copiously as Hawthorn has done in the cases given in his book. As has been suggested in a former section, there are great variations in resources available in rural communities, in the time and space problems of farmers, and in their abilities and capacities to provide for and profit by different forms of social life. These differences, however, do not need to prevent our making analytical, stock-taking studies and setting up norms which aid in pointing to more effective life conditions consistent with reasonable possibilities of attainment.

Individual participation in socialization plans.—The individual constitutes a unique unit in socialization, and plans for socializing a community have to deal with this fact in a constructive and informed manner. Most individuals learn to do by doing; hence our schemes need to give individuals something to do. Capacities, inclinations, and likes and dislikes have to be kept in mind. Leadership positions need to be passed around in order to give tolerance and breadth of understanding. Those activities which help offset the deficiencies of the more or less isolated work systems of the farmer need to be featured. Reading good papers, books, and magazines is valuable to everyone; this needs greater stimulation in rural districts, but fully as important for country people is the need of stimulation to individual participation in actual social events. Boys and girls in the country need more opportunities for expressing themselves in action through dramatics, group athletic contests, intellectual and cultural forms of expression, and through other valuable ways of building up a personal strength for more effective social experiences.

HINDRANCES TO SOCIALIZATION

Physical isolation.—Physical isolation is a prime obstacle to be overcome in developing socially minded people. Happily for the country as a whole, physical isolation is becoming less and less severe, although vast areas are yet to be relieved of its detrimental influence. We have reviewed the development in highway building and the extension of telephones, radios, automobiles, and newspapers. Vast open stretches in the West and Southwest and isolated pockets in hilly, mountainous and relatively inaccessible areas still offer obstacles.

Social isolation.—(a) *Nationality differences:* Groups of different racial and national origin are likely to remain apart in the social life of communities. This seriously hinders the development of the "we feeling." In the rural portions of the United States there is less of this sort of isolation than is the case in the urban centers; yet it is a real problem in the South with the Negroes, in the South-west with the Mexicans, in the Pacific Coast states with the Orientals, and the northern states with various southeastern European groups. By maintaining a healthful attitude of national loyalty, and by teaching Americanization to foreign groups, socialization may proceed with considerable satisfaction.

Social isolation.—(b) *Class distinctions:* Differences in wealth, in income, and in family are often real problems to be met in developing a socialized community attitude. Here again the rural areas do not show such marked differences as the urban areas. That tenants and farm laborers are often neglected and left out of community developmental plans is too often true for the welfare of rural groups. In some sections of the country also, family lines, instead of present worth and service, count too heavily for wholesome socialization.

Social isolation.—(c) *Religious differences:* Religious differences and bigotry make cross currents in socialization levels and hold people apart from whole-hearted social development.

The spread of the community idea and the consolidation and federation of churches are helping to alleviate this problem.

Standards of life.—It has been pointed out in Chapter VI that the make-up of a standard of life involves many different factors; hence different standards of life offer considerable range for the development of hindrances to socialization. An increase in the efficiency of farmers, the spread of better educational facilities, and the development of true cultural aims and ideals for rural life will help equalize standards of life and bring about higher degrees of socialization.

SUMMARY

We may well ask ourselves what we are seeking through all of our apparently elaborate schemes of socialization. Certainly not the impossible, but simply such a development of the country people as will give them the power to function efficiently, completely, and wholly in a four-square development of rural society. Times are changing in the country, so much so that the poet's revered statements take on added significance :

New occasions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient good uncouth,
They must upward still, and onward,
Who would keep abreast of truth.

The socialization process is an educative and enlightening process which better enables one to get more out of life, and to lead a fuller existence for and with his fellows. It aids in the development of tolerance, and in breaking down prejudices; it quickens one's social senses and makes him more conscious of his social responsibilities.

Not only is the farmer being drawn into larger social contacts in every phase of his business and social interests, but

he finds that it is to his welfare voluntarily to enter these larger fields. By studying the conditions of his environment, the shortcomings of his institutions, and his psychological limitations is he better able knowingly to develop the best type of social objectiveness and social-mindedness of which his society is capable.

We have seen that socialization problems for the country differ from those for urban life, but that this difference does not mean inferior socialization levels for the country. Enough has been learned of the developing rural socialization techniques to lead to the conclusion that a new day is facing the farmer along these lines. He is becoming a consistent user of many of the modern-day socializing agencies, and is finding desirable ways and means of lessening the influences of certain of his natural socialization hindrances.

CHAPTER IX

RURAL LEADERSHIP

Introduction.—Leadership capacities and leadership functions are meeting a greater and more insistent demand in rural life. The changes which are taking place everywhere, in the rural home, on the farm, in the neighborhood, in the community, and in the larger relations of farmers with the rest of society call for individuals, groups, and organizations who can help interpret, guide, and direct the movements. The past 20 years of agricultural development in the United States have witnessed a most significant multiplying of specialisms, offices, duties, and responsibilities demanding skilled and trained leadership. During this period rural life entered upon a new role, which has given the great industry of agriculture a tremendous group of new workers, almost all of whom are exercising in one way or another functions of leadership. The new offices and positions created have become so numerous within such a short space of time that naturally many of them have been filled by individuals who do not possess the proper leadership capacities. In some cases both the office and the individual have failed and have been laid aside. In most cases, however, the office has continued, although often occupied by indifferent types of leaders. Vocational agricultural teachers, boy and girl club workers, county agricultural agents, home demonstration agents, agricultural college extension workers, research specialists, agricultural college teachers, United States Department of Agriculture, and State Department of Agriculture workers are among the many who have been thrown into the rural fields in great numbers during the

past 20 odd years. That these offices are with us as a distinct part of our rural development no one doubts; we are also perfecting the leadership and services of these numerous workers as time goes on. Thus the old criticism that the country is growing unproductive of leaders is no longer justified by the facts.

The meaning of leadership.—When we think of leadership, we need at the same time to think of followers, for we do not have the one without the other. Leadership, therefore, means a condition or position relating to others which permits of a commanding ascendancy. It is distinctly a social process and a social phenomenon. Such an agreement has to be developed on issues under consideration that coherent direction can be given them by individuals in a commanding position. Leadership implies both a molding and a directing power. It must operate through mental contacts in some sort of social medium such as face-to-face relations, the printed page, the spoken voice, and demonstrations.

Professor Cooley has well brought out the uniqueness of the true leader. He states:

While there are some men who seem but to add one to the population, there are others whom we cannot help thinking about; they lend arguments to their neighbors' creeds, so that the life of their contemporaries, and perhaps of following generations, is notably different because they have lived. The immediate reason for this difference is evidently that in the one case there is something seminal or generative in the relation between the personal impression a man makes and the mind that receives it, which is lacking in the other case.¹

Qualities of leadership.—When we come to examine the essential possessions requisite for leadership capacities, we find certain traits and qualities occurring with considerable regu-

¹ Cooley, Charles H., "Human Nature and the Social Order," pp. 317-8, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1922.

larity. Variations in intensity will appear among the qualities possessed by the leader quite as much as will variations among the demands required by the various leadership positions. Leaders have to be close to the human factors involved and close to the situations arising which require interpretation and direction.

Among the qualities which might be listed with considerable regularity are the following:

1. *Tact* is undoubtedly one of the most essential qualities of human leadership. Persons with tact possess an artful approach which renders them cognizant of other persons' feelings and general responses. People are more easily led than driven. Tact enables one to sense beforehand the other person's state of mind, and to temper his plans in such a manner as to obtain agreeable working relations. We all know that a tactless person is constantly jeopardizing even the best of plans by his artless maneuvers.

2. *Sympathy*: The quality of sympathy generates tolerance and forbearance through a seeming understanding and fellow-feeling. We all like to experience the altruistic interest of some one in us or in our problems. Allport states that "Through the sympathetic reaction we enter into a fuller understanding of the conscious feelings and motives of others."² A leader needs sympathy to help him obtain the human touch.

3. *Initiative*: Leadership can hardly be thought of without an associating initiative. A fruitful and innovating mind which keeps a proper balance enables the leader to forge ahead of his fellows in thoughts and plans. Such a person is constantly suggesting or initiating desirable changes.

4. *Knowledge*: A leader is in constant need of many facts and a certain breadth of understanding which permits the confidence of followers to center about him. Knowledge helps in-

² Allport, F. H., "Social Psychology," pp. 238-9. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1924.

vest one's proposals with an inescapable authority which will attract the trust of his fellows.

5. *Inspiration* is a force which awakens a deeper consciousness in men of values which may be obtained. Leaders inspire to greater effort that different and better ends may result. Through the proper use of inspiration leaders cause people to want to seek a change or to resist what seems an evident wrong or undesirability.

6. *Persuasion*: Oppositions are always lurking in the offing. Leaders, through well-chosen persuasion, overcome opposition in a subtle and tactful manner. A leader soon learns what sort of persuasion different temperaments will accept; this is a study in human nature.

The values of leadership.—Leaders are trail-blazers for society; naturally their values are well-nigh incalculable. As society becomes more complex, the individual feels more and more the need of sentinels, leading characters, to help direct a course that will be fruitful of social harmony and productive service. Through the careful use of leadership functions the individual and the group are saved much useless and unremunerative labor. Constructive leadership forecasts, assimilates, and elaborates so that the most useful ends may be obtained with the least waste of time and energy. Leadership helps society mobilize and assemble its forces in a manner most effective of time and place.

Leaders are dynamic instructors, both by precept and example. They have a forceful way of informing through tactful and persuasive methods. The tolerance and breadth of leaders help spread tolerance and a desire for breadth among followers. Cooley says:

All leadership takes place through the communication of ideas to the minds of others, and unless the ideas are so presented as to be congenial to those other minds, they will evidently be rejected.³

³ Cooley, Charles H., *op. cit.*, p. 328.

Changes brought about in society through inventions, population movements, the spread of democracy or autocracy, conflict or co-operation all demand leaders who can help social groups and individuals steer a profitable course. The increasing complexity of social structures complicates a dynamic society such as ours so that the individual is often bewildered in trying to keep abreast of the times. At every step, dependable leadership is needed to render a service for which the general run of individuals has neither the ability nor the time.

Leadership positions and functions are of many kinds, and naturally different sorts of positions demand different kinds of leaders. In a sense, every period and condition tends to produce its own leaders. Rural life has been productive of leaders, both for its own immediate use, and for the uses of society at large. Much of the training of farm life may be made useful towards leadership ends when the right incentives are given.

Some of the later English agricultural leaders are still honored, both at home and abroad, for their far-sighted vision and idealism. Thus, in their own day, such men as Jethro Tull, Arthur Young, John Bates, and Amos Cruickshank wielded an influence over agricultural development in England which has not ceased in its valuable effects. American agriculture has not been so productive, perhaps, of national leaders within its own field as some of the older countries, but it has produced many significant local and sectional leaders of large influence. We have only to recall the developments of the self-binder by McCormick, the breeding of valuable strains of corn by Reid and Reilly, and the perfection of breeds of hogs, horses, sheep, and cattle by many other men.

Probably at no other time in history is rural life in greater need of leadership than now, and, without doubt, at no time has it had more trained and skilled individuals entering it in different leadership capacities. We are becoming more and

more dependent upon our rural life leaders, so much so the supply of them in the many different fields has not been able to keep up with the demands. More men of leadership qualities are required to represent agriculture in political details, to help make more effective on the farm the teachings of the agricultural colleges and experiment stations, and to help mobilize, organize, and direct in general, rural social and economic interests.

PROBLEMS OF RURAL LEADERSHIP

1. Rural individualism.—It has been indicated in an earlier paragraph in this chapter that leadership deals with social as well as individual phenomena. In fact, the larger social aspects of leadership are demanding leaders possessed of much social knowledge and group experience. These factors add a considerable burden to rural leadership positions, for they involve the assumption of socializing duties. Rural leaders have to meet and overcome a latent rural individualism. Individual action and response have clung tenaciously to rural people, so much so that they are now finding themselves almost surrounded on all sides by groups of all sorts who are versatile in and accustomed to group activity. Rural leaders today find it one of their first and main tasks to teach the elements of social organization to a people with a background of individual methods. This necessarily makes for slow progress and halting results.

2. Rural isolation.—Isolation is an ever-present problem to rural leadership. In spite of the improvements in communication and transportation, the farmers of America are scattered relatively thinly over a vast amount of land area. Their duties as cultivators carry them individually, in the main, out upon this area for the major portion of their time. Either for them to maintain constant and regular touch with one another and with leaders, or for leaders to do the same

with them, involves considerably more of a problem on the part of both factors than is the case elsewhere in society. That it is an impossible situation and beyond workable relations we are not suggesting, but we need to be mindful of the fact that group action under such situations calls for decidedly unique procedures. Social organization will develop relatively slower and take on a form differing from that where there is less spatial separation among the members of the society involved.

3. Lack of group technique.—As a result of a paucity of group relations, rural people have been tardy in developing effective group or social techniques. Working together in organization under leadership guidance is awkward and soon becomes irksome to individuals unaccustomed to it. Theirs has been largely a leadership of individual touch and personal appeal. Rural leaders have to become cognizant of these facts and assist in developing group techniques. A clientele which persists in demanding the old individual methods of leadership contacts is sure to remain in a background position. The rural leader has to be an organizer, and an instructor in the values of group activity. His tact, tolerance, knowledge, persuasion, inspiration, and imagination will all be tested severely in this field of activity. Professor Taylor says:

The American farmer is an individualist in practice and ideas, and individualism is inimical to group concepts and group technique. The extreme individualist fails to give and take, and thus fails to become a part of group thinking. He neither cares to lead nor is willing to follow.⁴

4. Lack of appreciation of leadership.—Rural leaders usually have had a rather ungrateful clientele. Criticism, division, and desertion dictated by individualism and un-

⁴ Taylor, C. C., "Rural Sociology," p. 471, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1926.

trained followers have characterized great numbers of leadership ventures in rural affairs. Very frequently, also, rural leaders are not recognized at their true worth. An untrained clientele may often switch to a more showy, perhaps shrewder, or superficially more gifted leader from other walks in life. This has been especially true in political circles where we find the rural favoritism shown lawyer politicians from urban centers. In business ventures, co-operative societies, and educational fields almost the same problems have been met. Farmers have not shown their own members sufficient loyalty and support. We can almost say that a jealousy or distrust often possesses rural residents relative to one of their number who has been elevated to a leadership position.

At times rural interests may be exploited by what Professor Groves calls "headers," individuals who get at the head of the movement or reform in contrast with the leaders, who help develop, mold, and direct change. When farmers lack leaders politicians often exploit them by simply getting at the front of the procession.

It seems that leaders in almost any walk in life, outside of agriculture, receive more recognition and attention than do leaders in rural affairs. This sort of thing naturally stifles and dwarfs leadership potentialities in rural life, it leads to the escape from such fields of many gifted, wise, and creative minds. I dare say that the factor relating to the lack of proper appreciation of leaders has played a large part in so much country-bred leadership finding its way into city life.

REWARDING RURAL LEADERS

There are several developments under way which are destined to reap significant values in rural leadership fields. We are just beginning to establish ways and means of recognizing and rewarding leaders.

1. The agricultural colleges.—Several agricultural colleges in the country, notably among which is the Wisconsin Agricultural College, have established a practice of signally honoring men and women of the farm who have attained a high standard of performance in their respective communities. Often certificates of honorable mention are conferred upon these individuals at appropriate exercises at the University; sometimes an honorary degree may be given. Halls of Fame have been established also by some agricultural colleges in which portraits of leading agricultural workers of the state are placed with fitting ceremony.

2. The saddle and sirloin club.—In Chicago, in connection with the International Live-stock Exposition, the Saddle and Sirloin Club of that organization has established a Hall of Fame in which portraits of outstanding live-stock men are placed. At the time of placing the portrait a banquet is held in honor of the individual selected, his life work is reviewed by informed speakers, and memorials of his merits and works are spread upon the records.

Needless to state, the two instances cited above are quite selective, and at best can include only a limited number of individuals each year.

3. The master farmers.—A third significant development towards recognizing rural leaders is that known as the Master Farmers. A number of states have adopted this plan, notably among which are Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, and Iowa. The plan of the latter state will be briefly cited here. *Wallaces' Farmer*, a leading paper of Iowa, has taken great initiative in forwarding the Master Farmer plan in that state. The committee for selecting the master farmers for 1927 was made up of the editor of *Wallaces' Farmer* and two agricultural college professors. Nominations for the honor in 1927 were made by friends of 140 farmers. Detailed records of the work and leadership of most of these men were obtained, and visits were made to their farms. Sixteen farmers were finally

selected as the Master Farmers of Iowa for 1927; fourteen were selected in the same way in 1926. The score cards used in selecting the farmers grouped the requirements under the three following heads: *Good Farming, Clear Thinking, and Right Living.*

Wallaces' Farmer, in commenting on the selection of 1927, states:

They have done more than merely handle the problems involved in running the farm. They have furnished constructive leadership in the life and activities of the community in which they reside. And by this is meant more than merely the holding of official position in schools, township, government, co-operative organizations, general farm organizations, and churches. As real leaders they have worked at the job not only of directing the activities of the organizations, but of encouraging and developing the abilities of those among whom they live and work.⁵

One of the sixteen Master Farmers has stated concretely the prevailing ideals of the plans. He says:

We may apply limestone and phosphate to all our land, and rotate crops to the best advantage; we may convert bumper crops into live-stock with the greatest efficiency and market them to the best advantage; we may accumulate a good property; yet we can still be failures as farmers. Unless we can transform the profits of good farming into homes and neighborhoods where people get more of the worthwhile things that come with good schools and good churches and a healthy social life, we are poor farmers.⁶

Schemes of the kind given here are sure to result in untold benefit to rural life in conserving talent and in developing interest and pride.

4. Successful farm families.—The Colorado Agricultural College has made a valuable contribution towards properly appraising success and leadership among farmers of that state

⁵ Sixteen Iowa Master Farmers, *Wallaces' Farmer*, January 13, 1928, p. 3, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁶ *Ibid.*, January 20, 1928, p. 7.

by making studies of successful farm families. In a study of 85 successful farm families many factors relating to their leadership influences were developed. Professor Coen states:

Leadership means physical energy and endurance; it means confidence in one's ability to do; it means painstaking forethought; it means desire to do; it means organizing ability; it means persistence, tact, effective personality; it means achievement.

Our successful farmers have a broad vision of farm living. They take an active interest in better schools. . . . The church talks about our successful farm families as its choicest members. The Grange, Farmers' Union and Farm Bureau lean heavily upon them. The county fair and rural community organizations are evidence of the same leadership. Many of the higher civic and religious ideals go back to the same source.⁷

THE SUPPLY OF RURAL LEADERS

It is painfully evident that many rural sections are not sufficiently supplied with leaders, and that the leaders they do have are not sufficiently informed, modern, and progressive to help them establish a more capable life. The charge is often made that the country lacks leaders; compared with the city this may be more or less true, but at the same time there is some room for doubt. To offset the dearth of leadership in some rural sections, we have in urban areas numerous submerged, neglected neighborhoods containing all sorts and conditions of peoples. Professor Gillette says:

The existence of slums and of congested backward populations impeaches the pretended leadership in municipalities, and finds it guilty of lacking a fundamental recognition that the welfare of all alike is the interest of the city and of falling far short of just and humanitarian reconstruction.⁸

⁷ Coen, B. F., "Successful Farm Families of Colorado," p. 9, Colorado Agricultural College, *Bulletin Series 26*, No. 3, Fort Collins, Colorado, 1927.

⁸ Gillette, John M., "Rural Sociology," p. 519, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922.

Until we have generally adopted just and fair ways of discovering, judging, and rating leadership in rural areas, we are in no position to say the country has less of leadership than the city, or is less productive of leaders.

The case of Who's Who in America.—Much criticism of late has been heaped upon the rural population because it does not show up in its due proportion in *Who's Who in America*. This is a publication intended "to give a brief, crisp personal sketch of every living American whose position or achievements make his personality of general interest, and tells just the things every intelligent person wants to know about those who are most conspicuous in every reputable walk of life."⁹ Of the 26,915 biographies found in the issue of 1926-1927 of *Who's Who*, a surprisingly small per cent of them are of farmers. It is upon such a basis that critics try to prove that the country contains few leaders.

A little clear thinking about the construction of *Who's Who* is sufficient to dissipate these claims of the critics of rural life. *Who's Who* is an unsound base for judging rural leadership or comparing country with city in these respects. As Lundquist and Carver well state:

Who's Who is really an urban *Who's Who!* The man who applies great executive ability and scientific knowledge to agriculture may get good crops and make profit for himself; he may win local recognition, particularly among farmers, but unless he talks or writes about it he does not gain general recognition.¹⁰

Who's Who in America makes no effort to search through the rural districts to find the leaders. It is probably safe to say that none of the Master Farmers of Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, and Michigan are to be found in *Who's Who in America*. Lundquist and Carver state that in the edition of *Who's Who*

⁹ Quoted from Notice in *Who's Who in America*, Volume 14, 1926-27.

¹⁰ Lundquist, G. A., and Carver, T. N., "Principles of Rural Sociology," p. 477, Ginn and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, 1927.

for 1924-25, they found the following listing of persons connected with agriculture and allied fields of work:

Maine:	1 agriculturist, 1 plant pathologist
Ohio:	1 stock breeder, 1 farmer, 1 agricultural expert, 2 agriculturists, 1 horticulturist, 1 breeder, 2 professors of agriculture.
Indiana:	None
Illinois:	1 farm manager, 1 dairy husbandman, 1 fruit grower, 1 farmer, 1 horticulturist, 1 agronomist.
Iowa:	1 agricultural educator, 1 agriculturist, 1 agricultural engineer, 1 farmer, 1 seedman.
Kansas:	1 stockman, 2 agronomists, 1 horticulturist, 1 agriculturist
Nebraska:	1 agriculturist, 1 horticulturist. ¹¹

It is evident upon a moment's reflection that such a listing as this in no wise portrays the leadership of rural America. Little publicity is given rural leaders; the conservative nature of their occupation and of their clientele affords them little opportunity of gaining more than a limited reputation. On the other hand, persons in urban life have at hand large mediums for obtaining attention, and socially minded groups ready and willing to offer plaudits for recognized achievement. The public seems more interested, also, in knowing about leaders in the various fields of urban life than it does about leaders in rural life.

City and country as sources of leaders.—A further proposition often deduced from a study of *Who's Who in America* is to the effect that the leaders in American life, in its many fields, are now more largely from urban than from rural families. The assertion has been patent that when the country was newer rural families furnished the vast majority of leaders. This question is naturally a part of the one above discussed. Until we have rounded up and properly evaluated

¹¹ *Op. cit.*

the now functioning leadership of the vast rural areas of America, we have no basis for saying that either city life or country life is more productive of leadership. Certainly we can well see that such a listing as *Who's Who in America* is not a just basis for making such statements.

Dean Paul L. Vogt has given us a fresh and worthy review of these questions. After an analysis of *Who's Who*, he states:

In making an accurate comparison as to distribution of genius as between city and country, some other criterion than that of eminence must be discovered. But if eminence is used as a basis, it is evident that the balance is still in favor of the country. The present writer is inclined to agree with the conclusion of many eminent students of biological influences in social progress, however, that while there may be differences as between races, there is no great difference among members of any given race, regardless of whether they live in the city or the country.¹²

LATENT RURAL LEADERSHIP

That there is much latent and potential leadership in rural areas there can be little doubt. We have long recognized the rich contributions country-bred men and women have made in city and national life. These people possessed the potentialities of leadership which flowered and bore fruit under the stimuli of urban life. This process introduces us to the sturdy qualities of the rural-born leader in the city, for, at some period in his career, he made a change of no small significance in his modes and ways of life. He had to break from the rural social and economic environment, and begin a new life in the city in competition with individuals who knew this life from early youth. It is very doubtful if city-born youth

¹² Vogt, Paul L., "Where the Brains Remain," in *Rural America*, p. 9, February, 1927, The American Country Life Association, New York.

show up in the rural field in anything like the proportion of leaders as rural-born youth in the city environment. On this point, however, we do not have sufficient information. We do know that some city-born individuals make excellent farmers and good rural leaders. Most of them are willing to commence at the beginning by practicing modern methods of culture and of living. They are generally less tied to obsolete customs and practices than are rural-born farmers.

The country needs facilities for awakening and developing as much of its latent leadership as it is possible for it to use. Constructive efforts are being made along these lines as we can well see by the following report of some of the activities of farm groups in the State of Iowa in 1925:

1. Fifty-two townships in 39 counties have home talent orchestras for their community meetings, all of high enough rank to be recommended by the county agents for use in other townships.
2. Two hundred forty township farm bureaus in 64 counties have during 1925 furnished talent for meetings in other townships.
3. More than 250 township farm bureaus in 1925 produced home talent plays or playlets in their community meetings. . . .
4. About 70 townships have reported mock trials. The majority of these were of a farmer for keeping a scrub sire. Many of the others were for "soil robbery."
5. One hundred four townships have been reported as having held local debates during the year. . . .¹³

Training for rural leadership.—The question is often asked whether or not it is possible to produce leaders through training. This thought has grown out of the attitude that leaders are born and not made, and that no amount of training will endow an individual with leadership capacities. This is similar to saying that heredity is everything and environment is nothing, and that we are all set in a firm caste at birth beyond which we cannot hope for anything further. The chief trouble

¹³ "Rural Talent Abundant," *Rural America*, May, 1926, The American Country Life Association, New York.

here is that a partial truth is allowed to obscure our vision of ever-present possibilities. Professor Cooley says:

Heredity brings us not only tendencies to a definite sort of physical development, but also capacity, aptitude, disposition, lines of teachability, or whatever else we may call the vague psychical tendencies that all of us are born with.

And from social transmission, through the environment, come all the stimulation and teaching which cause these tendencies to develop in a definite form, which lead us to speak a particular language, to develop one set of ideas or kind of ambition rather than another, to feel patriotism for America rather than for England or Italy. Everything in the way of specific function must be learned in this way, no matter what ability we have. When we say that a child is a born musician we mean, not that he can play or compose by nature alone, but that if he has the right kind of teaching he can rapidly develop power in this direction. In this sense and in no other can a man be a born lawyer, or teacher, or poet, or, if you please, a born counterfeiter or burglar.¹⁴

Providing opportunities that will enable individuals to discover and develop their aptitudes for leadership capacities becomes at once an important duty resting upon rural society. Little can be gained by a *laissez faire* policy, which dictates inactivity on the part of social institutions, thus leaving the individual to stumble along his way. This sort of plan has long been discounted in filling society's needs for teachers, ministers, and almost all other specialized positions. Brief mention will here be given of some of the possibilities of fostering leadership development.

1. *The home* is by all odds the primary institution for beginning training for leadership. Certainly sympathy, initiative, self-reliance, perseverance, and many of the personality traits receive a most important development in the home. In fact, if they do not receive a proper start here, it is doubt-

¹⁴ Cooley, Charles H., "Human Nature and the Social Order," *op. cit.* pp. 7-8.

ful if they will ever get well oriented later. Helpful along all these lines is the spread of reliable information on child rearing and training. Aids in these details are going out from health clinics, child welfare bureaus, child guidance and behavior clinics, university studies, and government bureaus. Numerous good books are being offered by experts, and children's magazines are supplying a long felt need in the home.

2. *Educational institutions:* Schools, churches, and the general educational and social organizations of rural society need to have as a part of their functions specific leadership training work. The community service of a consolidated rural school offers invaluable aid. Likewise, the proper organization and conduct of boys' and girls' clubs under the leadership of county agricultural agents, home demonstration agents, or special club workers furnish excellent leadership training. We find specific courses in leadership now being offered in college and university departments. These are especially helpful to young people going back to farm life, or to allied fields of work of a definite leadership nature, such as county agricultural agent service, vocational teaching, and other community specialities.

3. *Studies in community organization and in community problems:* Community studies are awakening and informing individuals on leadership duties and responsibilities. The better training of rural teachers, pastors, Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. workers also has the same effect. Chautauquas, clubs of various sorts, and institutes are all valuable aids, when the right direction is given them, of preparing individuals for the assumption of leadership roles.

4. *Community organization:* Organizing rural life associations makes effective and permanent the work of leaders. The division of duties, the co-operative relations set up throughout the rural community, help individuals to fit into a scheme of things that is definite and tangible. They are thereby better able to find themselves in relation to the social group,

and are given opportunities of gauging their abilities. The rotation of offices and duties in well-constructed community organization plans helps to give many persons a sympathetic knowledge of the requirements and of the responsibilities of leadership positions.

The leadership positions of the farmer of today are demanding far greater social experience and knowledge of society than ever before. Community organization is one of the most effective ways for the farmer to get this experience and knowledge and to use it profitably in his ever-widening relations with other groups.

CONSERVATION OF RURAL LIFE THROUGH LEADERS

It is to our leaders with vision, hope, and inspiration that we look for our ideals of rural life. They help us to evaluate more adequately the services of the farmer, and the full meaning of life in the country. This inspirational guidance is fundamental to a contented morale without which aims and ideals tend to stagnate or backslide. We may witness a torpid state of affairs in some areas of the countryside where heavy migrations have been going on which have taken away the most virile-minded, initiating sorts of individuals. Often a petty, narrow, provincial type of leadership may prevail, because of migrations from the community, or because of a lack of contact with the stimulating movements of society.

Our rural leaders in church, in school, in the community, in politics, and in business all have a tremendous influence in helping conserve for rural life those things which are its choicest possessions. We are always in need of them in helping decide what to retain and what to discard.

Leaders and rural social progress.—It is very obvious, no doubt, that leaders bear a strategic and vital relation to social progress. Professor Ellwood states:

The method regularly used by human groups when they have to adjust themselves to new and complex situations is to copy the action-patterns proposed or illustrated by a few individuals. These become the leaders of the group. Without leadership human groups would show no more capacity to make wise adjustments than their least intelligent members. But by co-ordinating themselves about a leader, who thinks ahead and sets an example, human groups become capable of adjustments of the highest degree of intelligence. Hence the supreme importance of leadership in human groups. Nothing great in the way of progress is or ever will be achieved by human groups without leadership. The only thing they can do without leadership is to act upon an instinctive or habitual plane, and such action does not result in progress.¹⁵

In thinking ahead and planning for himself and his group, a rural leader opens up new and worthwhile avenues. His creative abilities, his knowledge, and his initiating character drive him along with a relatively sure footing. Improvements in tillage, in live-stock feeding and breeding, in crop improvement, in school, church, and community life all yield alike to the innovations, selections, and choices of leaders. So important are rural leaders to rural social progress that the character of rural communities can be rather definitely read in the character and force of their leaders.

SUMMARY

A consideration of the qualities needed for leadership brings us to the conclusion that there is nothing about them that would cause their concentration in urban life and continual escape from rural life. Further, we shall have to recognize the fundamental philosophy that within given races of men there is no great difference between members whether they live in the city or in the country.

Leadership in city life has been at a decided premium ever

¹⁵ Ellwood, Charles A., "Psychology of Human Society," p. 234, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1925.

since the beginning of the industrial era. Popular thought turned from agricultural interests to urban interests, and everything has been done to laud the industrial, financial, business, and political leader. Agriculture has been all but forgotten as a way and means of gaining recognition and influence. As a consequence, defective and one-sided evaluations of leadership have been developed which have led the unthinking individual to believe that the country is bereft of leadership and no longer productive of leaders. Careful consideration of the facts shows that there are leaders in the country, that they are functioning, that they are coming into larger and larger spheres of power and influence, and that country-bred people are still helping the city fill its places of leadership.

The country has lagged behind the city in all forms of social development; naturally under such conditions, leadership recognition and influence suffered. Under an awakening consciousness along these lines, we find rural areas leaning more and more heavily upon their leaders, creating more and more leadership positions, and establishing worthy methods of evaluating and honoring leaders. We need have little to fear for the future of leadership in the country, providing society at large recognizes the true significance of rural problems and lends a co-operative influence in helping to solve them.

CHAPTER X

RURAL ORGANIZATIONS

Introduction.—The purpose of this and the three following chapters is to study and evaluate the organizational activities of rural people which do not necessarily become institutionalized. We characterize organizations differently from institutions. The latter have greater linkage with the past, a more permanent and universal character, and generally greater formality than organizations have. As Professor Cooley states, “The great institutions are the outcome of that organization which human thought naturally takes on when it is directed from age to age upon a particular subject, and so gradually crystallizes in definite forms—enduring sentiments, beliefs, customs and symbols—language, government, the church, laws and custom of property and of the family, systems of industry and education, are institutions because they are the working out of permanent needs of human nature.”¹ Organizations are service agencies of institutions; they facilitate a larger and more effective division of social labor within a society than is possible without them. They permit the development of very specialized interests. McIver says “ . . . an association is a definite organization pursuing some specific interest or pursuing general interests in some specific way.”² Organizations may give rise to institutions as well as grow out of institutions.

The activities of organizations will range all the way from

¹ Cooley, Charles H., “Social Organization,” pp. 313–314, Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1909.

² McIver, R. M., “Community,” p. 155, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1924.

spontaneous, mobile groupings of individuals, possessing little or no formality, to the elaborately planned, long-lived organization that carries on from period to period. The types of organized life and activity of a people furnish the best of clues to the degree of their social consciousness and social development. To the extent also, that individuals find satisfaction in group experiences, to that same extent are they in a position to do more for themselves and perfect their social institutions. The character of the organizational life of a people, therefore, reflects the character of their institutional life. In this connection we are interested in learning if the rural districts are undersupplied or oversupplied with organizations; if their organizations are really helping or hindering them. Do their organizations show a feeble sense of social responsibility? Do rural people grow with and through their organizations? Are their organizations characterized by spontaneous activity which greatly fluctuates from time to time? These, and many other pertinent questions, need serious consideration in any approach to understanding rural life problems.

EARLY RURAL ORGANIZATIONS

English rural organization.—Under a self-sufficing type of agriculture, such as we have seen prevailed well down to the industrial era in Europe, and to the middle of the 19th century in America, little in the way of rural organizations came into existence. In Chapter II it was shown that during mediæval times, and under the manorial systems, the status of farmers was such as to discourage organized activity on their part. More or less extraordinary, and spontaneous, short-lived organizations grew up from time to time among farmers. The earlier of these were in the nature of open revolts against the oppressions of the owners of the land—dukes, barons, lords, etc. The characteristic of these organized efforts of

the cultivators was that of forcible protection, or seeking after rights of which they were being deprived. We learn of some of this type of effort exercised among tenants on large estates in colonial America and even later. The paternalistic methods of treating cultivators, and the uncommercialized, self-sufficient state of agriculture discouraged the development of rural organizations, either for the social or the economic benefit of the farmer.

We should not be unmindful, however, of the simple, spontaneous social life of the manor-village, and of its simile in early American farm life. Parties, frolics, holidays, feasts, and closely associated economic effort in the fields, all helped to take the place of the more formal social organizations of later times. These types of effort, however valuable they were under the conditions, were productive of little in the way of constructive social development.

About the middle of the 18th century in England, as a result of the remarkable changes in English farm production, interest developed in rural societies. Somewhat before and following this time a number of dominant leaders of rural life improvement were awakening the people to better methods of farming. Among these men were Jethro Tull, Bakewell, Townsend, Arthur Young, and Marshall. The regular holding of agricultural fairs was established during this time; sheep shearing contests were given on estates, or at fairs; lectures were given on methods of farm improvement. Bakewell and others were demonstrating the values of careful breeding and selection of animals; Tull had demonstrated the virtues of more scientific tillage of crops; Townsend was exhorting the farmers to rotate crops and grow root crops. Marshall helped England establish her first national Board of Agriculture, of which the versatile Arthur Young was made secretary. This Board of Agriculture furnished America with a pattern scheme, which was later rather liberally employed. Arthur Young, by his lectures, travels and writings, influenced rural

development to a tremendous extent in England, on the Continent, and in America. The efforts at rural organization and rural improvement that were going on during the latter part of the 18th century in England were bearing, and long continued to bear fruit in America, as we shall see in the next section.

Rural organizations in early American life.—In America, during the earlier days of settlement, and later during the period of expansion, there was considerable paucity of rural organizations. The reasons for this are different from those which prevailed abroad. Probably the two outstanding reasons for the slow development of interest in rural organizations in America could be stated as follows: *First*, the colonists and settlers of the frontier were absorbed in the tremendous tasks of establishing a new society with new governments and allied institutions; and *second*, with soils new, rich, and abundant, sufficient returns were at hand—and seemed secure for long periods—to satisfy an uncommercialized type of farm production. Under these conditions men could not be interested in rural societies except as they took on the features of literary and social entertainment. The science of agriculture, if we may be permitted to use such a broad terminology, had not been given birth; interest in conservation seemed needless with abundant land and forests; tradition and custom dictated the practices and arts of agriculture.

Without a doubt, the apprenticeship method of imparting knowledge in rural practice played an important part, but it was minus the social interest and enthusiasm now given young people through their vocational clubs and societies; it was typical of the practices of the adults—individualistic, confined, in-grown.

Spontaneous associations and organizations characterized much of this early social and economic organization. These have been mentioned as husking bees, quiltings, apple parings, barn raisings, and the like. Informal organizations often cen-

tered about the school, and were such as spelling bees, declamation contests, etc.

Later on, the Lyceum came to try the sinews of men in debate, came to prove the literary ability of their wives and daughters. They debated on everything under the sun—huge philosophical subjects jostled trivialities; questions of morals, religion, and politics followed discussions of farming and cattle raising.³

Agricultural improvement societies.—As early as 1749 Jared Eliot was writing and lecturing in New England on the improvements that had been wrought in English agriculture. Washington was active in helping develop local agricultural societies and in spreading a sentiment for a National Agricultural Board similar to the English plan. He was in close touch with Arthur Young of England, and was a careful student of Young's writings. From 1775 onward agricultural societies were forming here and there in the various states. Interest was picking up in plant and animal improvement. In 1801 David Humphreys imported Merino sheep into Connecticut, which seemed to create a greater interest in good animals than formerly existed. Up to 1850 many importations had been made of cattle, sheep, and horses. Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Maine, and New York were among the first states in which rural sections organized definite agricultural improvement societies. Several of the middle-western states, such as Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin followed as settlements within them accumulated, and as their rural interests crystallized.

Dr. Wiest states in his book on "Agricultural Organization":

The aims and purposes of these early agricultural societies correspond somewhat closely with the functions now performed

³ Phelan, John, "Readings in Rural Sociology," p. 12, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920.

by the agricultural departments of the States and the Federal Government. The general purpose of the societies may be said to have been to improve agriculture. The holding of fairs at which the best stock and farm products were exhibited together with the reading of papers and discussion were the principal methods of stimulating interest in agriculture. The introduction of new plants and live-stock was undertaken by some societies as well as agricultural experimentation. Both of these projects were conducted by the South Carolina State Agricultural Society. This Society was organized in 1785 and early purchased a tract of land on which experiments were conducted. The collection of statistics was attempted by some societies.⁴

Out of many of the early agricultural societies there developed state departments of agriculture; various states would take over a society through subsidizing it as the state's finances permitted. All of the important agricultural states now have some form of state agricultural department, which is instrumental in helping with numerous affairs concerning economic, educational, and to a certain extent, social life on the farm.

Specialized rural societies.—Many of the early organizations of a distinctive rural type featured educational advancement along the lines of increasing production and improving crops and live-stock. Fruit and vegetable growing were so universal that horticultural societies were the first to take definite form. We find them being organized in New York as early as 1818, in Pennsylvania in 1827, and in Massachusetts in 1829. Journals were published; fairs and exhibits were held. Not until considerably later do we get further specialized commodity groupings. Sheep growers organized in Ohio about the time of the Civil War, and dairymen in Vermont a few years later.

Rural fairs.—Fairs came to play a large part in rural organization development and in furnishing education and social values for the rural populations. The first significant fair,

⁴ Wiest, Edward, "Agricultural Organization in the United States," p. 292, University of Kentucky, Lexington, 1923.

according to Dr. Wiest, was one held in Washington in 1804. He says:

The great advocate of the fair, however, and one who has been called the "father of the agricultural fair" as an American institution was Elkanah Watson, who in 1807 exhibited two Merino sheep in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and who in 1810 organized the farmers in his community into the Berkshire Agricultural Society for the purpose of holding fairs. He was also active in assisting in the organization of fair associations in ten other states. During the first half of the nineteenth century farmers' clubs and agricultural societies, organized for the purpose of holding fairs and also for educational purposes, prepared the way for the "golden age of the agricultural fair" which is said to have reigned from 1850 to 1870.⁵

We are well aware of the importance of the agricultural fair today in both rural life and in society in general, whether the fair be that of a rural school district, or of a great agricultural state. It has been conservatively estimated that some 3000 fairs are held annually in the United States. Of the larger fairs, much executive ability is called into play; agricultural societies, boards, and various types and kinds of farm organizations participate in them. The fair has come to hold a strategic place in American rural life, for it is a place for measuring rural progress from period to period, for fertile demonstration work, for education, entertainment, and socialization.

PERIOD OF ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Previous to the Civil War, rural organizations were relatively few, weak in numbers, and of limited powers, informal neighborhood and community associations continued, of course, and were little different in nature from those of the colonial and pioneer days. Solon Buck states:

⁵ *Op. Cit.*, pp. 358-9.

Ever since the latter part of the eighteenth century agricultural associations, both state and local, have existed in different parts of the United States; but their influence was slight previous to the Civil War, and was confined principally to such aristocratic gentlemen farmers as the large planters of the southern states. After the close of the war the idea of organization took a firm hold on the farming classes, and the country witnessed the rise, rapid development—and often equally rapid decline—of a number of great agricultural orders, some of which have exerted considerable influence on the progress of the farming population and on the economic and social development of the country as a whole.⁶

The Grange.—Of the comprehensive organizations, state and national in scope, which have become so numerous today, the Grange was the first. It was organized by O. H. Kelly in 1867 after he had observed the run-down conditions of southern agriculture and had learned of the lack of self-help agencies among farmers in general. Kelly was an employee of the United States Department of Agriculture, a Mason, and had been a farmer in Minnesota. He sought, through the establishment of this unique organization, patterned after the Masonic order, to give the farmers of the country an effective instrument of their own whereby they might lift themselves and their industry to a higher and more respectable level in society. The ideals of the Grange were those of social, educational, and co-operative development. After several weak starts in the North and in the South, it spread rather rapidly and generally over the country.

The form of organization of the Grange has been well planned for a consistent, permanent, universal social and educational organization. The unit of membership is the local Grange, composed of a group of farmers and their families, constituting a workable social unit and usually based upon the congressional township. The local Granges within a

⁶ Buck, Solon, "The Granger Movement," p. 40, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1913.

county make up the Pomona or County Grange, which holds its meetings from time to time in the various parts of the county. A State Grange is formed out of the Pomona and local Granges, and a National Grange out of State Granges. Men and women are received into the Grange on an equal basis. An especially appropriate ritual containing four degrees features the initiation ceremonies. The programs of the Granges are educational and social, the local Granges meeting regularly about once a month with special and call meetings at other times.

During the seventies the Grange experienced a phenomenal growth because it digressed somewhat from its program of educational and social advancement and was drawn into political and marketing ventures, which later nearly wrecked it. It attained a membership of about 1,500,000 persons during this time, and while it did considerable good for the causes it championed, it probably did itself much injury, for its membership rapidly declined, and many local Granges went out of existence. Since about 1900, however, it has been steadily gaining favor and stands today as one of the strong national and local farm organizations of the country with a membership of upwards of 1,000,000 persons.

The Grange has stood strongly for better education for the farmer. It has supported plans for uniform school texts, employment of better teachers, the founding and liberal support of agricultural colleges and experiment stations. It especially encouraged the holding of agricultural fairs, the introduction of good live-stock, and farm seeds and plants, the development of a National Department of Agriculture, an Inter-State Commerce Commission, parcels post, rural free delivery of mails, and similar progressive measures.

The power and influence of the Grange are difficult to gauge, so far-reaching have they been. The Grange helps to break the barriers of provincialism, teaches principles of leadership, and spreads knowledge of better agricultural practice. It has

proved to be one of the best types of organization to combine social and educational features on the basis of the farm family and the local community. The northern states have always been more favorable to the Grange than the southern states.

Other national organizations.—The organization of the Grange in the seventies initiated a movement of farm organizations of various kinds which have grown and multiplied in numbers down to the present. Periods of depression, such as existed in 1873 and again in 1893 brought out organizations of politico-economic colorings. One of these, the *Farmers' Alliance*, is characterized by Professor Gras as follows:

None of the movements in America is so hard to characterize as the Farmers' Alliance. The reason lies in the heterogeneity of the groups that composed it. It arose in no one year and developed in no particular state. It was made up of two main associations, the one secret and southern (1889), the other open and north-western (1880). The former was composed of elements that went back to 1873. The two associations never came together to form a strong national society. When the movement was at its height, it enjoyed a membership of some four million individuals. The outstanding characteristic was faith in legislation to remove the farmers' handicap.⁷

The Alliance united with a similar organization known as the *Agricultural Wheel* which had formed in some eight states in the South and Southwest during the eighties. The organization lost its force and influence in the political changes of the early nineties.

The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America: This is an organization of farmers intended to better economic relations through buying and selling together. The inception of the Union reaches back to the years when middlemen practices dissatisfied farmer dealers to the extent

⁷ Gras, N. S. B., "History of Agriculture in Europe and the United States," p. 420, F. S. Crofts and Company, New York, 1925.

that they felt some means of self-help necessary. The Union was formally organized in Raines County, Texas, in 1902.

The Farmers' Union has spread into many states of the South, Middle-West, and Northwest, but probably it is stronger in the states of the Southwest, in Virginia, and in Iowa. Its control and management are chiefly local, but there is much loyalty shown the state and national organizations. Eastman says:

The Union has been a tremendous power in advancing the interests of southern and western agriculture. An example of its influence in educational work is the project of the North Carolina Farmers' Union in offering prizes to the locals that make themselves leaders in community betterment. For example, the North Carolina Union conducted a contest for the development of community spirit through social entertainments, educational rallies and all enterprises calling for brotherhood and the "get together" spirit. Substantial prizes were offered for the winners. Another prize was offered for the best report of a survey of the educational, agricultural, religious, economic and social conditions of the community.⁸

The economic features of the Union involve the ownership and operation of grain elevators, cold storage plants, farm insurance policies, live-stock marketing associations, and similar commercial interests. Through the efforts of the Union co-operative endeavors among farmers have been strengthened, especially in some of the southwestern states such as Kansas and Nebraska. O. M. Kile states that "The Nebraska Union in 1920 did a total business of more than \$100,000,000."⁹

Other organizations somewhat similar in nature to the ones described above are: *The Ancient Order of Gleaners*, a large co-operative farmer organization of the Middle-West; *The*

⁸ Eastman, E. R., "These Changing Times," pp. 95-6. Copyright, 1927, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

⁹ Kile, O. M., "The Farm Bureau Movement," p. 33, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1921.

American Society of Equity, strong in the Northwest; *The National Agricultural Society*, and *The Farmers' National Congress*.

Why farmers organize.—Sufficient details have been brought out in the foregoing descriptions of significant rural organizations to indicate that perhaps several influences have been operative. Undoubtedly one of the most important has been a growing social consciousness on the part of the farm population. The commercialization of agriculture through the improvements in farm machinery, and the settling-up of vast areas of fertile lands immediately following the Civil War, together with great expansions in industry and cities, drew the farmers into organizations to cope with industrial, commercial, and political interests. Thus we see their organizations strongly tinged by such contacts and interests.

The desire for educational improvement is another factor motivating the formation of organizations like the Grange. Farmers were objectifying their occupation and seeing more clearly than before the need for self-development and general education in a changing social situation.

The desire for systematic social development also closely accompanied the educational motives. The spontaneous types of associational life of earlier days were giving place to more formal arrangements which had program, plan, and objectives looking towards definite social development.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN RURAL ORGANIZATIONS

During the past twenty-five years important changes have been taking place in the field of organizations serving rural interests. The earlier experiences of an old organization like the Grange helped to give farmers some dearly-won organization knowledge. Upon the basis of this knowledge the recent organizations have been building. Instead of organizations arising out of discontent, and possessive of a militant spirit

of combat, rural organizations, since about 1900, have come on steadily and normally to fill an ever-growing need for educational and social advancement. The economic organizations, such as co-operative societies, also have found a more efficient base of action, that of the particular agricultural commodity, and an informed, intelligent, socially conscious community.

The agricultural colleges and experiment stations were called upon, beginning about 1900 to 1905, to assist farmers in forming organizations and in giving them direct instruction on specific details concerning their various farm interests. This called for a rapid organization of extension divisions or departments in the agricultural colleges. Farmers' Institutes, which had been in existence since the forties in some states, took on a different hue, and commenced to work close-handed with the agricultural colleges. State Boards of Agriculture, agricultural journals, chambers of commerce, and numerous other organizations and agencies, lined up in a constructive way with farmer groups and encouraged and aided rural organization schemes.

The Farm Bureau.—Probably the most significant organization that has been formed recently by the rural interests is that of the American Farm Bureau. It is the embodiment of many of the better ideals of the various organizations that have been given life since the seventies.

Most immediately productive of the Farm Bureau was the county agricultural agent, who soon clearly saw the need of a supporting farm organization in each county employing such an agent. As Eastman well states, "Following the rapid spread of the county agent system, there grew up in many of the states county farm bureau associations with paid membership and often more or less independent of the Department of Agriculture and college control through the county agent. These county farm bureau associations in several of the states began to form about 1917 into state federations, and in 1919 steps were taken in Chicago to organize the

American Farm Bureau Federation, representing the state organization. Delegates were present from thirty-one states.¹⁰ A national organization was perfected at this time, which has grown very rapidly and which has stimulated the further growth and development of county bureaus.

Units of organization, nature and purpose of the farm bureau.—Like the Grange, the unit of organization of the Farm Bureau is a local rural area as nearly a homogeneous rural community as possible. The civil township is the general unit in the Middle-West, the town in New England, and consolidated school districts in many parts of the country. Appropriate officers are elected in each local division of the Bureau, and stated times of meeting are observed. The county and community bureaus assist the county agricultural agent in his educational work in the county, and in many states are the county's support of the agent. The Bureau has established a broad five-fold program as follows:

1. Efficient Production
2. Better Merchandising Methods
3. Higher Standards of Living
4. A Well-Rounded Community
5. An Equal Opportunity

In writing concerning the nature of the Farm Bureau, E. P. Taylor states in part as follows:

The Farm Bureau is a co-operative association. It has for its object the well-being of agriculture economically, educationally and socially. Its membership is composed of those directly or indirectly connected with farms and farming who have paid their Farm Bureau membership fees in support of Farm Bureau service.

Its purpose is to assist in making the farm business more profitable, the farm home more comfortable and attractive and the com-

¹⁰ Eastman, E. R., "These Changing Times," pp. 96-7. Copyright, 1927, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

munity a better place in which to live. Besides co-operating with the agricultural, educational and other agencies of the county, state and nation, it also provides an organization of farmers through which they may render for themselves many lines of Farm Bureau service, including legislation, taxation, transportation, good roads, group insurance, auditing, relationship between public utilities and farmers, aid to co-operative marketing and purchasing groups, and many other lines of service to the members.

It brings to the federal department of agriculture and the agricultural college the farmer's viewpoint and likewise serves as an agency through which the services of these and other great public institutions can be made readily available to the people. It serves to develop and popularize the best-known practices in agriculture and home economies.¹¹

There are some 12,000 community units composing 1800 County Farm Bureaus and 45 State Farm Bureau Federations. The national organization maintains permanent offices in Chicago, from which it disseminates information and aid to all lower bureaus. About \$1,000,000 of Farm Bureau membership fees go annually to help maintain the 3500 county extension agents. The National Bureau takes an active part in helping secure national legislation in the interest of agriculture and in securing equitable tax and tariff schedules.

The Farm Bureau endeavors to build strongly and solidly from the bottom upward, therefore much emphasis is placed upon the local community's organization work. The Bureau states:

We believe that the township or local meeting is the key to the success of all movements for rural betterment. Important as are the economic interests of farm life, we believe its social, religious, and educational phases are worthy of equal consideration. We believe, too, that Farm Bureau members need to sing, play and eat together, in order that they may learn to work together, later on.

¹¹ "Membership Campaign Manual," p. 31, American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago, Illinois, 1927.

Every township unit should have a live organization holding regular and interesting meetings. They should maintain standing committees who study local conditions and report the needs to the program committee, who will try to include these problems and their possible solutions in the regular monthly meetings.¹²

Thus we see the Farm Bureau is one of the most comprehensive organizations of the general type yet formed by rural interests. In view of the fact that it now operates in 45 states of the Union and has a paid membership of upwards of 1,000,000 persons, it bids fair to be a great power. It will constantly need the advice and aid of the best leadership in rural affairs that it may avoid both internal and external disrupting forces, which have wrecked so many organization efforts in the past.

The co-operative organizations.—In the main, co-operative organizations have been economic organizations in which better marketing or purchasing conditions have been sought by the farmers. Inasmuch as many of them have come to include social and educational features in their programs some discussion of them should here be given.

In a broad sense, co-operative organization or co-operative effort is as old as society itself. The earliest glimpses we get of agricultural life show men engaging in joint cultivation and joint distribution. The principle operating then, as today, was that of common or community welfare in place of individualistic interest.

All countries have their revered traditions of successful organized endeavor. The Moors in Spain and Portugal, the Venetians, the Vikings, are described in legend and story. However, the legitimate birth of agricultural co-operation occurred in the latter half of the nineteenth century; the decade of the eighties is the real starting point.¹³

¹² "American Farm Bureau Community Handbook," pp. 14-15, American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago, Illinois, 1927.

¹³ Mears, E. G., and Tobriner, M. O., "Principles and Practices of Co-operative Marketing," p. 367, Ginn and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, 1926.

Denmark was the first agricultural country to sense the aid to rural life that might come through efficient co-operative endeavors. As early as 1882 she commenced to establish co-operative dairy production on a large scale; later pork and poultry production were added. Carefully kept records running back to 1661 enabled the Danes to study systematically price trends and fluctuations and to shift from a grain production, for which they were naturally poorly adapted, to a live-stock production, for which their country was well adapted. Denmark has risen to great power and general well-being among all her farmers largely because of her co-operative enterprises. Ireland, Germany, Norway, Sweden, and France have all followed in one way or another the examples set by Denmark.

Co-operative enterprises in America have been of slow growth, and, like the other organized efforts of farmers, did not take hold very extensively until after the Civil War. Some of the first co-operatives were of the consumer type, and similar to the Rochdale, England, plan of 1844. These established farmers' stores, which engaged in the purchase of all sorts of home and farm supplies, and were especially numerous throughout some of the northwestern states. Mismanagement, jealousy, and a general lack of understanding of the peculiar business principles involved caused a failure of many of these earlier enterprises.

Commodity co-operatives: The most effective type of co-operation in America has been that dealing with productions of the farm. General production co-operatives have been giving way to commodity co-operatives, which within recent years have been developing very rapidly. The California fruit growers in 1885 were one of the first to enter the field. Since that time their organizations have grown to great proportions and have furnished about the best examples of what can be done along such lines in American rural conditions.

The grape growers of New York and the vegetable growers of some of the southern states have also been organized for a long time and have perfected their co-operative endeavors to a successful working plan.

Throughout the grain belt of the Central West during the nineties, co-operative farmers' elevators were established, especially in Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. In 1912

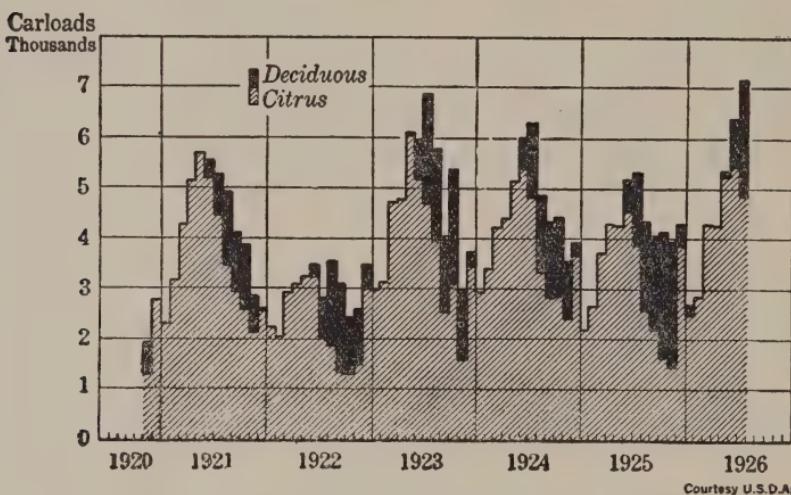


FIG. 10.—Citrus and Deciduous Fruits Sold in the United States and Canada through Sales Offices of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange.¹⁴

This figure illustrates the way in which the handling of deciduous fruit tends to maintain a somewhat more uniform rate of sales throughout the year. This is indicated clearly in the years 1922 and 1925, both short citrus-crop years.¹⁵

the National Council of Farmers' Co-operative Grain Dealers Association was organized. The declared purpose was to break the grip of the grain trust and to secure a square deal for the farmer. Specifically they sought to secure fair freight

¹⁴ Gardner, K. B., "Joint Use of a Sales Organization by Two Co-operative Associations," p. 15, Circular 10, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., November, 1927.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

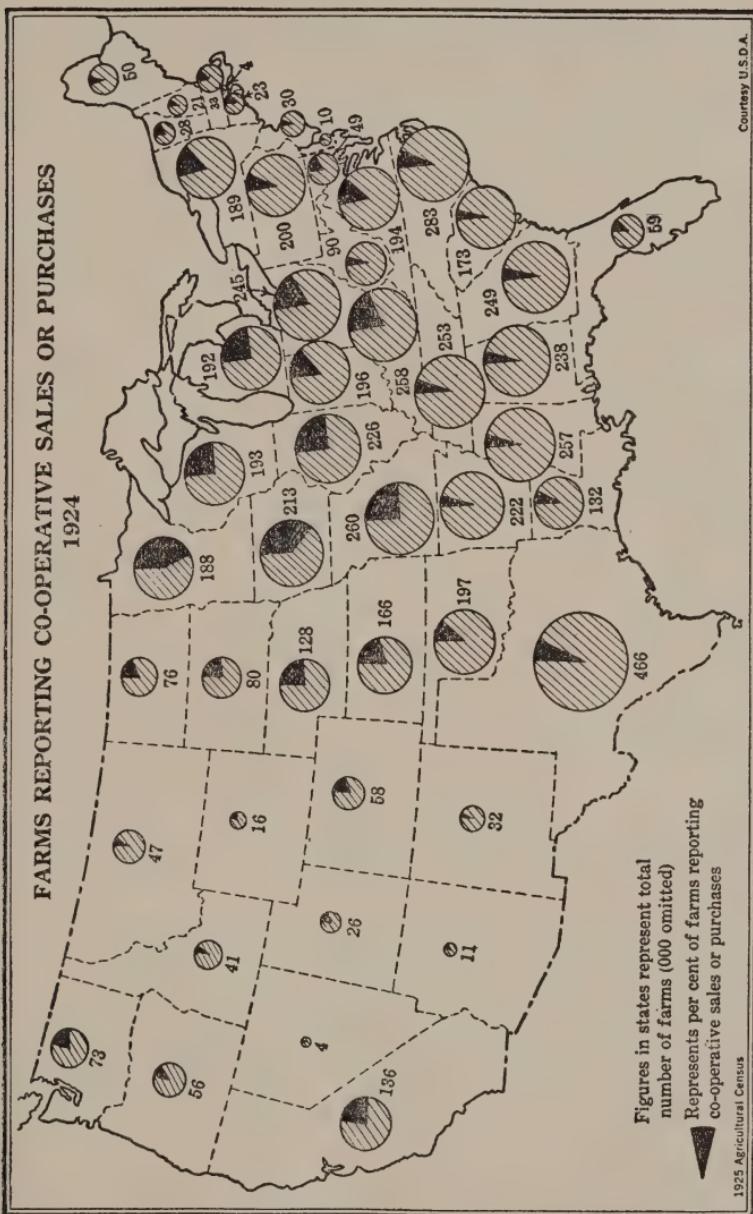


FIG. 11.—The Number and Relative Importance of Farmers' Co-operative Organizations in the United States, 1924.¹⁶

¹⁶ Circular, Co-operative Selling and Purchasing as shown by the Agricultural Census for 1919 and 1924, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., February, 1928.

rates, to break railroad boycotts of farmers' grain shipments, to secure better prices through co-operative marketing at terminal points, to purchase supplies at fair prices, to safeguard farmers' rights through legislation, and to secure government inspection and grading of grain.

Rapid development of co-operatives: So rapid has been the development of co-operative marketing associations within recent years that it is claimed some 2,700,000 farmers are now members of 10,803 co-operative marketing associations in the United States. In 1925 these associations did a total business of about \$2,400,000,000. These are largely commodity groups, including such products as poultry, rice, citrus fruits, tobacco, wheat, grain, wool, cotton, melons, etc., etc.

The United States Department of Agriculture has taken a leading part in fostering the right kind of co-operation among farmers. In one of its regularly issued circulars on Agricultural Co-operation published October 15, 1927, it is stated that 85 per cent more farm products were marketed co-operatively in the United States in 1924 than in 1919. States showing a 1000 per cent increase in co-operative activity during this period are: North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia, South Carolina, Texas, Alabama, and Connecticut.

In relation to the growth and distribution of co-operatives, the United States Department of Agriculture states:

Minnesota farmers have been enthusiastic co-operators for many years. More than 43 per cent of all the farmers in the state participated in co-operative selling or purchasing in 1924. The percentages for some of the other states were: Iowa, 37.1; Wisconsin, 26.2; Missouri, 25.6; Michigan, 24.7; California, 24.5; Nebraska, 24.5; South Dakota, 24.3; Kansas, 21.2; Kentucky, 21.1; Colorado, 20.¹⁷

Social values of co-operatives: The chief significance of co-operative organizations is their influence upon the farmer

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*

as a citizen. The development of the co-operative spirit, embodying teamwork, and community effort gives the individual a broader perspective of his group and of his business, and places in the hands of individuals a power not otherwise possessed. Co-operatives are training centers of no small means in teaching farmers better management, better business, and the values of good leadership.

Farm women's organizations.—In addition to the general organizations named above, which enroll both men and women, farm women have developed their own organizations. One of the very earliest of these was the Mutual Improvement Association of Maryland, established in 1857. This organization is still alive and functioning. Like rural organizations, the early types of farm women's organizations adhered closely to a program of social mingling and self-improvement. Today such organizations have taken on multiple tasks, such as co-operative buying and selling, health projects, social service, library service, community planning, recreation, dramatics, fairs, school projects, fostering parent-teacher organizations, and boys' and girls' clubs. Miss Frysinger states:

More and more are farm women desiring to become a part of an organization which is one of farm women only, or farm men and women on a basis of equal representation of women and men in places of responsibility and of honor. Farm women are recognizing the value of increased contacts. This is being expressed in the formation of clubs of rural women, in community organizations of farm families, federation of farm women's groups within the county, affiliation with urban groups of women, and in many instances federation with the county, state, and national federations of women's clubs. Farm women are joining many national organizations of varying interests. They are attending national and international meetings. They are becoming more broad-gauged in thought and action.¹⁸

¹⁸ Frysinger, Grace, in "Handbook of Rural Social Resources" by Israel and Landis, p. 90, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1926.

Home demonstration agents are giving invaluable aid to farm women in helping them perfect their organization plans. The values which have come to rural communities through the organized efforts of farm women are incalculable. These organized groups speak with special weight and effectiveness upon matters pertaining to schools, churches, recreational and beautification projects. They are prime movers in the establishment of boys' and girls' clubs, parent-teacher associations, Y.W. and Y.M.C.A. organizations, and others looking to the conservation of the human interests of rural life. Miss Fry-singer further states:

Farm women's organizations are also sponsoring social and educational activities designed to help boys and girls to better understand and appreciate rural life and to become efficient in activities connected with farming and farm home-making. Farm women are recognizing the need of more spiritual guidance for the youth of the open country and are using their organizations to bring this matter to the attention of all rural parents.¹⁹

Separate women's organizations have been multiplying rapidly since the spread of better means of communication and transportation and the organization of extension activities from the agricultural colleges. They have championed library service for rural communities, and are now working diligently for the spread of social service agencies throughout the rural sections.

Young people's organizations.—Young people's clubs are becoming more numerous in the rural areas than ever before in the history of agriculture. Their organizations have been growing apace during the past twenty years, especially since the establishment of boys' and girls' club work departments in the state agricultural colleges, state departments of education and of agriculture, and in the United States Department of Agriculture. Besides these, the national Y.M. and

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

Y.W.C.A. organizations, the Boy Scouts of America, and the Campfire Girls have been extending their efforts into rural districts. The establishment of consolidated rural schools and centralized rural high schools have probably been as strong forces as any in fostering organization life among the young people of the country.

The so-called project and club work of the agricultural colleges and of the United States Department of Agriculture, which co-operates with the county agricultural agents and the home demonstration agents, is highly organized and efficiently managed. This is the most extensive work of the sort ever undertaken in any country for dealing with farm youth problems. The basis of the work is generally the community, neighborhood, or school district. In many counties there are special county club leaders who devote their whole time to the young people's project clubs. The club and project work of boys and girls relates so closely to educational institutions, of which it is really a part, that it will be treated more definitely in Chapter XVI.

The American country life association.—From the point of view of a definite sociological organization the American Country Life Association is outstanding. It has reached and enrolled but a small fraction of actual farmers; its influences extend to farmers more indirectly than directly, through the channels of such professional country life leaders as rural sociologists, rural educators, rural ministers, community organizers, recreational directors, etc.

The association was organized in 1919, and has held annual conferences each year since that time. At these conferences papers, discussions, and deliberations usually center about some general conference topic which had been selected at the last meeting. Bound volumes of the proceedings of the conferences preserve these valuable deliberations for use among all persons interested in rural life problems. The following have been some of the general conference topics for which

there is a volume of Proceedings: *Rural Health, Needed Re-adjustments in Rural Life, Town and Country Relations, The Rural Home, Farm Youth, Religion in Country Life, and Country Community Education*. A further medium for the expression of thought, experiences, and research results of those interested in rural social life is *Rural America*, a small monthly (except July and August) publication of the American Country Life Association.

The American Country Life Association is a national organization and cannot be said to have local organizations. It has, however, stimulated interest in the development of a few state groups of similar purpose, and also a number of similar college organizations.

The American farm economic association.—The American Farm Association is similar in nature and methods to the American Country Life Association, except that it deals more specifically with economic problems. These two groups, which are composed largely of research, teaching, and other professional leaders in these fields, are productive of much service in giving direction and constructive leadership to the broad problems of rural life. They are both endeavoring to come into more direct contact with farmers, farm groups, and organizations.

SUMMARY

We have seen that rural organizational activities have passed through many stages of development. Motives of protection or of the acquisition of political and economic advantages have characterized various of the larger organizations of farmers. Spontaneous response, trial and error, and weak organization morale have also been in considerable evidence. While these features are not absent in organization effort today, it is noticeable that long-time objectives, carefully laid plans, and ideals of permanent improvement are becoming characteristic of present-day rural organization plans.

Farmers have had a doubly difficult task to meet in perfecting their organizations. *First*, the scattered condition of farm residences imposes spatial handicaps, and *second*, the former relative self-sufficient nature of the farm business has tended to dwarf or retard organizational activity. Both of these handicaps have been passing within recent years; as a consequence, organizations have been multiplying and have been growing stronger and more complete. In other words, the farmer is now in a stage of building up definite organization techniques. A better definition of the rural community as a unit upon which to base local organization efforts will help make increasingly effective all types of rural organizations.

R. H. Ellsworth of the United States Department of Agriculture has given us the following significant table of so-called agricultural associations in the United States.

The various organization activities of rural areas might be grouped in another way than that given in the above table, namely:

For the family: For the farm family we find the Grange is an outstanding example, also community clubs of various kinds, lecture courses, and religious organizations.

For men: Men's organizations include fraternal groups, co-operative marketing organizations, breeders' associations, threshing rings, etc.

For women: Literary societies, home economics clubs, floral societies, etc., would characterize women's associations.

For boys: Y.M.C.A., Boy Scouts, ball clubs, and project clubs are typical of boys' associations.

For girls: Y.W.C.A., Girl Scouts, project clubs, literary societies, and hiking clubs give a representation of girls' organizations.

For men and women: Social Clubs of different kinds, the Farm Bureau, and parent-teacher organizations are examples of organizations for men and women.

For young people: Social Clubs, dramatic societies, and literary societies are representative of young people's organizations.

TABLE 13

AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES ²⁰

Educational associations (including agricultural, horticultural, and live-stock societies, fairs, and exhibits).....	5,000*
Production associations (including agricultural colonies, land-improvement associations, associations owning and operating farm machinery, crop-improvement associations, and animal-improvement associations).....	6,000*
Crop improvement:	
Seed certification.....	30*
Animal improvement:	
Live-stock registration	51†
Cow testing.....	738†
Bull ownership.....	248†
Stallion ownership.....	500*
Calf clubs.....	1,841†
Pig clubs.....	2,231†
Business associations.....	58,000*
Credit:	
National farm-loan associations.....	4,665†
Agricultural-credit corporations and live-stock-loan companies	400†
Mutual insurance:	
Fire.....	1,950‡
Wind and hail.....	70‡
Live-stock.....	25‡
Automobile.....	4†
Public utilities:	
Rural telephone and water, light, power, and transportation..	40,000‡
Marketing and purchasing.....	10,803§

* Estimated.

† December, 1926.

‡ Estimate based on 1917 telephone census.

§ December, 1925.

²⁰ Ellsworth, R. H., "Agricultural Co-operative Associations," p. 2, *Technical Bulletin* No. 40, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1928.

Again, we might employ a somewhat different interest-classification than Ellsworth has in the above table, and have the following order: *Economic, Social, Educational and Religious* organizations.

In conclusion we may venture an answer to the questions given at the beginning of the chapter by saying that some rural areas are still undersupplied with organizations while others are oversupplied. In the main, rural people are being helped by their organizations and are growing with and through them. Rural organizations are showing a greater sense of social responsibility than ever before in their history and are becoming less and less characterized by a fluctuating, spontaneous activity. Trial and error, or experimental periods in rural organization methods are now seldom needed. The boom period is rapidly passing, and country people are settling down to a sober development and adjustment of associational responsibilities. They are experiencing better assistance and leadership along these lines than they have ever had in the past.

CHAPTER XI

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL FACTORS

Importance of the factors.—We may well look upon the political and governmental factors as several among the many important social tools needed for the attainment of a more effective and satisfying social existence. Society has always sought, through some form of the regulation of the conduct and actions of individuals, to bring about desired ends for the group. Political factors, therefore, like factors relating to religion, the family, and economic life, have their rootings in the past.

In rural life we find there has been considerable neglect in properly emphasizing and developing the political and governmental interests. As a consequence, there is little definite knowledge about rural political problems, and little in the way of ideals, leadership, and dynamic and constructive policies. The fact that political factors and social life are so intimately interdependent, acting and reacting upon one another as they do, makes many of the problems of rural life in America key into its untouched or unsolved political problems.

As Professor Odum states :

Government is not some formal, objective, far-distant, all-ruling Leviathan which people, who ought to be citizens unafraid, look upon with fear or dread, as some great power existing to restrain their liberties and energies. On the contrary, government is meant to give added freedom and development through adequate protection and ample social service. Of course it must have its form, and it must constitute authority—authority vested in certain men and agencies by the citizens themselves. And the perfection of the

form of government is a challenge to the science of politics, just as the final measure of good government will be the measure of good citizenship, whose composite goal is the welfare of the people. . . .

There yet remains the viewpoint of the citizen, for the government is his, and in the aggregate he is the government. Professor Marshall speaks of the nation as a "multiplier of man's powers by enlarging his co-operation." He explains democracy as "a multiplier of man's powers by developing the individual."¹

A close examination of the archaic and inadequate forms of rural government in the United States reflects rather severely upon the science of rural politics. These in their turn reveal to us an underdeveloped and feebly effective rural social consciousness. It is the aim of this chapter to bring out the social significances of political and governmental factors as they relate to the enhancement of the powers of the farmer and help to develop him and his society.

THE FARMER'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT

With these thoughts in mind, we are ready to examine the institutions and forms of local government the farmer has as his first means of enlarging his efforts and multiplying his powers. Local government is of first importance to all because it lies closest to our daily life and rounds of duties. Everyone is first a part of his local governmental institutions; they constantly touch one's affairs on every side, and they are among the first means at hand of inducting one into the orderly ways his group has established for attaining adequate protection and proper social service.

The prevailing units of local government for the farmer are school districts, towns (chiefly in New England), townships, (chiefly in the central states) magisterial and other county districts, and counties. The inception of these principal

¹ Odum, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," pp. 394-5, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1927.

forms of local government occurred during the settlement and development of the colonies. Their prototypes existed previous to this in England. The New England states established the town type. The county type was more purely established in the southern colonies, and a combination between the town and county form came to prevail in the central colonies. New York represented a form in which "the township was clearly defined, had certain important functions of local government which it exercised independently of the county, and served as a unit of representation on the county board of supervisors."² In Pennsylvania the township had few independent powers, but was principally an administrative unit for the county.

The New England town.—The effectiveness of the form of local government established as the New England town warrants a brief analysis here that we may better understand the close relationships that can grow up between rural residents and their organizations of local government, where the latter possess considerable adequacy in their reach.

In New England a town means both the area of concentrated population where homes are clustered together, and the surrounding rural areas for varying distances from a given center. This makes a town include approximately 20 to 40 square miles of area. Most of the homes in the earlier days were located in clusters or villages in order to afford protection from Indians, to furnish social life, and to facilitate exchange of labor.

The annual town mass meeting has long been the significant political feature of the New England town. This has been in the nature of an open forum for the free discussion of all governmental questions and for the election of necessary officers. The following list of officers will show how com-

² Potter, Kirk H., "County and Township Government in the United States," p. 55, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922.

pletely duties are parcelled out, and also the general range of interests covered:

Moderator to preside at the assembly
Three to nine selectmen
Town clerk
Assessors of taxes, where the selectmen have too many other duties
Town treasurer
Overseers of the poor
Justices of the peace
Constable
School committee or board
Highway officers
Park commissioners
Library trustees
Board of health
Watchman
Fire brigade
Minor officers elected and some appointed
Sealer of weights and measures
Pound keepers
Fence viewers
Keepers of almshouses
Fish and game wardens

There are about fifty odd features on which the annual assembly, or town meeting, may act with finality. The more important relate to roads, drains, taxation, and poor relief. Professor Hart states:

The thing most characteristic of a town meeting is the lively and educating debate; for attendants on town meetings from year to year become skilled in parliamentary law, and effective in sharp, quick argument on their feet. Children and others than voters are allowed to be present as spectators.³

³ Hart, A. B., quoted in Fairlie, John A., "Local Government in Counties, Towns and Villages," p. 154, The Century Company, New York, 1906.

Professor Fairlie shows that in some places there is at present a tendency to undermine the forum value of the town meeting by caucuses held beforehand in which a good deal of the program is "cut and dried," so the meeting itself becomes merely a ratifying body. He shows also that immigrants settling in the towns have introduced such heterogeneous elements that the democracy of the town is being threatened. "Nevertheless the town meeting retains its hold on the people of New England. Even in the largest towns there is more hesitation in recent years than formerly about changing to a city form of government. Nearly a dozen towns in Massachusetts have now sufficient population (12,000) to become cities, but there is no active effort to abandon the town system."⁴ To meet the conditions of large and unwieldly groups, Fairlie states:

There has been proposed a plan of a limited town meeting. This would consist of delegates elected by the voters in districts, forming a body of two or three hundred members, which should exercise the business functions of the existing town meeting. Town officers would continue to be elected by the whole body of electors; and certain questions would also be submitted to a general referendum vote.⁵

Township plans.—The township is a subdivision of the county and usually consists of about 36 square miles of territory. It grew out of the rectangular system of land surveys established in the Ordinance of 1785 for the purpose of platting the lands of the domain previous to their sale and settlement. The lands were surveyed into geographical areas of sections and townships. The settlers usually accepted the township area as the basis for their civil or local government. Sometimes, however, variations occurred, as in the case of natural barriers such as streams or swamps cutting off a part

⁴ Fairlie, John A., *op. cit.*, pp. 155-156.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

of a geographical township. And again, sparse population caused two or more geographical townships to be thrown together to be used as a single civil township.

The township plan will be found in parts of New England not previously absorbed by the early town system, in the states of the central colonies, and very generally throughout the Central West. It varies considerably in all of these different areas, but stands, in the main, as an important division of local government. It does not have the significance of the New England town because of its more limited powers and the general dominance of the county. Organized townships, however, are bodies politic and corporate; they are usually separate from cities and incorporated towns.

The head officer of the township is the town chairman, trustee, or supervisors. In some states a board or committee of supervisors or trustees acts as head of the township affairs. Indiana is representative of the states where considerable responsibility rests upon the township trustee. He has charge of the schools of the township, of the township finances, of the roads and drains; is overseer of the poor; prepares a list of voters; and is inspector of elections.

In many states there is usually a township board, composed of three resident freeholders, which audits accounts, fixes rates of taxation, etc. There is a township clerk in all the central states except Indiana. Usually the township plan also includes an assessor, a treasurer, justice of the peace, and a constable.

There seems to be a general lack of interest in the township plans, and consequently considerable ineffectiveness in this form of local government. The county is of growing importance in most cases of the township plan. One of the basic problems is the unnaturalness of the straight-sided, rectangular township as a social unit. Oftentimes the social interests of the residents of one of these areas lie in two or three directions outside the township.

The school district.—A school district is a local corporation in school matters within the township and the county. The idea grew up to give proper legal support to the separate units of one-room schools. As these schools unite to form consolidations, the former one-room school district units disappear, and a more comprehensive and generally more satisfactory unit appears. The one-room school districts usually contain about six square miles of territory, and are intended to place a school within easy walking distance for the children of the farmer. The chief officers of these small districts are school trustees elected by the people. There may be from three to six, and they have charge of the schools under the direction of the county school superintendent.

The county plan.—Professor Fairlie states: "In the Southern and Western states, and in some counties in states already noted, there is no general system of local corporations corresponding either to the New England towns or the organized townships of the Central states. But even in these sections the counties are divided into districts for various purposes of local government, such as elections, the administration of petty justice, roads and schools."⁶ These districts possess different names in different parts of the country. They may be called magisterial districts, civil districts, townships, precincts, "beats," hundreds, or wards. They are generally much larger in area and fewer in number than would be the case if the county were divided into regular civil townships.

Without going further into the details of these county subdivisions, suffice it to state that they carry little social significance. Due also to the overlapping of districts bearing different powers, there is likely to be confusion of interests between districts. The districts have even less social importance than townships.

The county as a social and political unit.—Counties possess greater uniformity between different parts of the country

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

than any of the other forms of local government. The relative increase in influence of county administrative powers makes this a unit of special importance. Public health administration, rural social service, agricultural agent work, and home demonstration agent work are some of the newer fields using the county as a basic unit.

Counties are created by the constitution or by the statutes of the state. This gives them powers that are rather firmly and, at the same time, rather inflexibly imbedded. Changing social situations call for changing political tools and instruments; but when it becomes a matter of calling into question an age-old constitutional legacy, frequently the new political tool is not forthcoming. The administration of justice is a common function exercised by the county. Fairlie says that in all of the states the county is to some extent a police and militia district. In almost every state the county is the district for probate administration and the public record of land titles. Usually the county builds roads, levies taxes for its own support, may collect revenues for the state, and is an important election district.

Measured by the number of functions and the relative distribution of local administration between the county and minor districts, the county is of most importance in the Southern states and the Mountain and Pacific Coast states of the West. By the same tests, it is of least importance in New England, where the county is weakened by the centralization of the judiciary on the one hand, and the importance of town government on the other. In the Middle-Atlantic and North-Central states it occupies an intermediate position.⁷

The officers of the county.—1. *The County Board:* One of the most important branches of county government is that of the County Board. It has been given various names and varying ranges of powers in different parts of the country. In some states it is called the Board of County Commission-

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

ers, in others the County Court, in others the Board of Supervisors. The number of members of the county board varies from three to ten. As to their duties, Fairlie says:

More specifically county boards manage the county finances and property, have varying powers in regard to highways and other public works, and the care of the poor, in some states have a limited ordinance and police power, usually have some supervision over county officers, and sometimes over townships and other subdivisions of the county.⁸

We see here the wide range of power resident in the county board. A general lack of training and skill of the members of the board prevents it from becoming as potent and constructive a force as it might be in rural government. Membership on the county board is commonly held by farmers, this being the one office in the county in which they predominate.

2. *Other county officers:* A listing of the various offices and officers commonly found in most counties will suffice here to refresh our minds of the distribution of the powers of the county government.

- County judge
- Probate judge
- Prosecuting attorney
- Coroner
- Clerk of court
- Register of deeds
- County auditor
- County assessor
- County treasurer
- County surveyor
- Superintendent of schools
- Superintendent of the poor
- Health officer
- County agricultural agent
- County home demonstration agent
- County nurse

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 85-6.

The last four are the newer officers which are being added to the list with varying degrees of rapidity in different sections of the country. They are probably the most carefully picked and most specifically trained for their duties of any of the county officers. These people are appointed to office, and generally are selected and recommended to the county board by a state co-operating organization or institution.

Most of the offices of the county government are filled by general election, terms in office ranging from two to six years, with a considerable number of counties using the shorter term. This involves much rotation in office which lessens the efficiency of the office. In many cases the salaries of the county officers are small, and the office does not attract the best talent; in other cases, a vicious fee system prevails, which centers the office-holder's interests upon fee-getting rather than upon public service.

It is not difficult to realize that county government is considerably decentralized, and save for a weak supervision by the county board, there is little unification of the work of the various offices. Petty politics plays a large part in offices which should be filled by the civil service or by appointment. The coroner's office is archaic and may well be absorbed by the health division. The treasurer and assessor should be appointed by the county board. The superintendent of schools should be more carefully chosen than is at present the case. Little is gained by his being elected at large; he should come under the civil service, or be appointed by a county board of education. The function of auditing the accounts of the county would better be performed by one skilled in this line, and preferably under state control and supervision. Certainly every county needs a budgetry plan and definite policies as to expenditures.

SOCIAL NEEDS OF BETTER LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Farmers have been accused of taking little interest in political and governmental affairs. It is pointed out that they have managed their forms of local government badly, and that they neither seek nor play a proper part in the larger institutions of public service. There is, no doubt, considerable truth in these reflections. The foregoing descriptions have been given in order to lay before us, in part at least, some of the factors that may possibly give rise to this apathy.

In the rural community.—Our brief and cursory examination of the farmer's institutions and organizations of local government has shown much inconsistency between his areas of social unity and political unity. Outside the New England towns, there is little opportunity for local polities to operate upon a natural social base; in fact, gross disregard for such bases is seen in the geographical township, and in the large magisterial districts of the county. Local government and politics are social tools which are needed to facilitate the social process; to be most efficient they need to rest upon the most naturally formed social groupings. Stereotyped, rubber-stamped jurisdictions tend to dissipate the social and political interests of the farmer. Political experiences and social experiences need to go hand-in-hand; a feeling of unity and like-mindedness needs to exist. The farmer is in serious need of ways and means of fitting his forms of local government to his natural social and community units. Where this has been more or less realized, he has been able to make a better showing for himself. The consolidated rural school district has become an important factor in helping this process, for it substitutes a larger and more community-like unit for the little one-room school districts. A redistribution of further political powers to accompany the organization of consolidated rural school districts would be a beneficial step. The extension of town or village jurisdictions so as to include

the principal portion of the trade area around the center is another movement worthy of consideration. The actual incorporation of rural communities, clothing them with certain limited political power, is under way, notably in North Carolina.

Dr. H. P. Douglas lists eight tendencies towards making the farmers' local government more conformable to the community interests of the countryside. Besides the instances just cited, he mentions:

Legislation permitting or fostering the establishment of rural community councils, community centers, and buildings; legislation providing means of overcoming the arbitrary limits of counties or minor local government units in the support of community governmental functions. Examples: school laws of Michigan, Arkansas, California; legislation implying a zone system of taxation for the support of different functions within a given community; legislation allowing options between a variety of local governmental agencies in carrying out community measures. Example: the Michigan Community Council Law.⁹

In the county form.—With changes for the better in the rural communities the farmers' participation in county government will be on a more effective plane. Political party control, which is often rampant in county elections and in the management of county affairs, needs direction in ways less identified with spoils, fee-splitting, and professional office seeking. There is little need for the varying policies of political parties in county government. The field of selection is usually so small that some means should be found of appointing the best qualified men to those offices requiring the highest skill.

Plans for county government are in the process of borrowing from municipal experiences. This has to be done know-

⁹ Douglas, H. P., "Recent Legislation Facilitating Rural Community Organization," *Proceedings*, Third National Country Life Association, pp. 117-126, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1920.

ingly, however, for the conditions of the two jurisdictions have their specifically peculiar problems. One plan on trial in county government is the commission form, and the other is the County Manager plan. No doubt they contain advantages over the old schemes, but, at the same time, they will need modification to suit different conditions of rural environments. These plans do help to bring about greater centralization and unification in county affairs. They are on trial in a limited number of cases. Dr. Upson shows that in city government.

The number of elective administrative positions has been materially reduced in favor of direct appointment or selection through a formal merit system. The strong-mayor and city-manager plans of government have in part superseded the disorganized and irresponsible types of organization common to American cities at the beginning of the century.¹⁰

THE FARMER IN STATE AND NATIONAL AFFAIRS

The great growth in state and national powers has multiplied contacts and added new duties and responsibilities to everyone. Rural groups, like all others, are finding necessary a new alignment in, and a new direction of, their forces in order to share equally in this enlarging state. This process is reaching down into the very core of the local rural community and demanding of farmers a greater participation in the larger affairs of state and nation than they have ever before contemplated. Miss Follett well states the condition when she says, "How can the will of the people be the sovereign power of the state? There must be two changes in our state: first, the state must be the actual integration of living, local groups, thereby finding ways of dealing directly with its individual members. Secondly, other groups than neighbor-

¹⁰ Upson, L. D., "The Practice of Municipal Administration," p. 6, The Century Company, New York, 1926.

hood groups (community groups) must be represented in the state: the ever-increasing multiple group life of today must be recognized and given a responsible place in politics.''¹¹ In other words, the farmer must perfect his community organization, and must represent his interests in the counsels of the state and nation.

Farmers in legislatures and congress.—A present-day analysis of our state legislative bodies and of our national houses serves to show that the farmer is not there in person in the same proportions he bears to the population at large. Professor Vogt says:

In the 64th Congress, out of 435 representatives but 9 were specifically reported in the Congressional Directory as farmers, and out of 96 Senators but 7 were reported as farmers. . . . In the state of Ohio, the 74th to the 81st assemblies inclusive had 8 per cent of the total representation in the senate from the farming group or from a combination of farming with other interests. Those reported as farmers exclusively constituted but 4 per cent of the total. In the legislative assembly 18.4 per cent were farmers or combined farming with other activity. The farmer group constituted 14.1 per cent of the total. In Iowa, of 50 senators 6 were farmers, and of 108 representatives 50 were farmers.¹²

There is no question but that this lopsided personal participation in legislative assemblies is not to the best interests of the farmer and his country. He personally is needed, and he himself needs the contacts. For him to remain away and send representatives from other groups, however good these may be, is not as desirable for him in the end, or for the other interests in society who need his acquaintance and point of view. More personal knowledge of government gained through better courses in school and college, greater partici-

¹¹ Follett, M. P., "The New State," p. 245, Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1920.

¹² Vogt, Paul L., "Introduction to Rural Sociology," p. 230, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1922.

pation in local government, and a better appreciation of rural leaders will assist in bringing farmers more into legislative assemblies.

FARMER POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

Significance of movements.—A movement is entitled to a different characterization from an organization or an institution. Movements may arise within and grow out of organizations and institutions, or they may develop without regard to previous organized achievement. Some impelling force in the nature of an opposition, a discrimination, or an accomplishment to be won about which there becomes a fairly uniform and universal consensus of opinion gives rise to movements. Movements usually proceed rather rapidly towards the attainment of outstanding objectives. After the climax of a movement is reached, interest and enthusiasm often die down because of a lack of permanent organizational effort. Among farmers radical and fanatical movements are relatively few; reasons for this have been presented in the chapter on "Psychological Factors."

Political and economic oppression had activated many retaliative farmer movements at different times throughout history. Many of these have been known as "Green Risings" to distinguish them from the "Red Risings" of urban workers, and the "White Risings" of capitalists or persons in positions of power. The green risings of feudal and manorial agriculture were open revolts against the tyranny of overlords, tax farmers, land enclosures, labor problems, etc. Even in American colonial life, and later, open agrarian revolts were staged against greedy and overbearing landlords or plantation-owners. The revolution of 1634 in the Massachusetts Bay Colony was both social and economic, the cultivators seeking to repress legislation levied against them by their representatives. Again, the quit-rent schemes of English transplanta-

tion were a constant source of trouble, especially in the Southern colonies; and they gave rise to open repudiation of them on the part of farmers.

Farmer movements in politics.—A number of things were brewing during the intensive pioneering and settlement stages in America, which, as we have seen in the chapter on "Rural Organizations," brought about considerable concerted rural activity following the Civil War. Dr. Bizzell states:

The land policies of the government, railroad subsidies, and the changing tariff schedules caused the farm population of the country to feel the inequalities resulting from legislation. The spirit of individualism on the part of the farmer had gradually declined as the rural population increased and the mechanical and social agencies promoting solidarity developed. By the end of the first decade after the close of the Civil War, conditions were ripe for definite political action on the part of the farmers. All that was needed to bring the latent forces of rural life into action was a real or imaginary common cause. The financial depression of 1873 supplied this cause and started a movement the significance of which has not yet been realized fully.¹³

1. *The Granger movement:* Railroads and transportation companies were charging excessively high freight rates on farmers' products and making unfair discriminations, between length of haul, shipping points, and the like. Highly stimulated production of crops in the Central West brought the farmer into his first large relations with the big transportation companies. This matter of unfairness of rates cut deeply into the farmers' good will towards the railroads; the latter seemed unwilling to listen to grievances, and the farmers could not act effectively without organization. Furthermore, railroads and industry seemed to be gaining concessions and powers through Congress because of lobbyists and repre-

¹³ Bizzell, W. B., "The Green Rising," p. 156. Copyright, 1926, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

sentatives they had there. Farmers had little representation in Congress and little direct influence upon the industrial groups. The upshot of it all was a rather rapid and concerted movement of the farmers in taking over their slowly developing national organization, the Grange, and using it for their political interests. This move was resisted by the founders of the Grange, but to no avail, for the general sentiment among farmers was towards forced political action. From a relatively small organization, at the beginning, the Grange soon climbed to a membership of over 1,500,000. It developed thirty-two state Granges; Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, and Nevada not being organized. Besides the Granges, farmers' clubs were formed throughout the country for the purpose of getting better political action.

The Granges and Farmers' clubs in the elections of the seventies brought pressure to bear upon the candidates for office in state legislatures and Congress; they acted chiefly, although not wholly, through the regular political parties. So great was the influence of this movement of the farmers that a large part of the remedial legislation they sought was obtained.

They demanded the creation of railroad commissions to regulate railroad charges and to supervise the administration of railroad activities. The railroad organizations resisted the efforts of the Grangers and denounced the policy of railroad regulation as confiscatory and, therefore, unconstitutional. But a number of states were influenced by the Granger organization to create railroad commissions with broad supervisory powers to regulate railroad transportation policies. The constitutionality of the so-called "Granger Laws" came before the Supreme Court in 1877 and their validity was upheld.¹⁴

This decision gave the farmers much for rejoicing; they had accomplished a signal victory throughout the country. Especially was this complete when Congress formed the Interstate

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

Commerce Commission in the later eighties. There were, besides the measures mentioned above, a great many other issues championed by this farmer political movement. Among the most important of these were: development of inland water transportation, establishment of state boards of agriculture, establishment of a Federal Bureau of Agriculture, national regulation of weights and measures, compulsory education, and many others of both local and national importance. With the return of prosperity the interest in their political movement declined, and the farmers lost most of their coherence and unity along these lines.

2. *The People's Party:* The second significant political movement of farmers was instigated by grievances against middlemen, and against high interest rates. In some respects this was more intense and rapid than the former movement. "The farmers charged that commission men resorted to short weights, false standards of quality, and secret combinations to prevent competition and to depress prices. The farmers charged also that they were compelled to pay unduly high prices for farm implements and other supplies, due to monopolistic control of industrial enterprise."¹⁵ These charges, in the hands of the farmers advocating political measures for reform, rather than social and economic, led to a political alignment in the nineties of the Texas Farmers' Alliance, the Louisiana Farmers' Union, the Agricultural Wheel, and the Northwestern Alliance. They threw most of their weight and influence behind the People's Party, sometimes called the Populist Party.

Like the Granger movement, its influence was felt in state legislatures and in Congress during the elections of the nineties. Although the People's Party was short-lived, its policies have been very generally adopted by the old line parties, and many of its measures have been enacted into practice. Table 14 will show the strength it obtained during its existence.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

Certainly we can say that out of the experiences of the country with mobilized farmer political strength, as exhibited in these two large movements, the farmer has shown that his interests and demands have to be reckoned with. Out of it all came a very desirable liberalizing of the Democratic and Republican parties. The great weakness of the farmer has been his intermittent political interest, resulting in sporadic activities. He has waited to be goaded into occasional action, rather than maintain a continuously helpful organization.

3. *Later movements:* More recent movements of less significance than the ones mentioned above have been the Non-Partisan League of 1915 and following, and the Farmer-Labor Coalition of 1924, which is still in operation. The League was organized to a greater or less degree in thirteen states; but gained its greatest strength in North Dakota, where it captured the state political situation by electing the Governor and most of the legislators in 1916, and a full ticket in 1918. It had a program of state ownership of elevators, mills, packinghouses, and cold-storage plants; state inspection of grain and grain dockage; exemption of farm improvements from taxation; state hail insurance on the acreage tax basis; and rural credit banks operated at cost.

On the whole, the measures of the League were quite drastic and socialistic, so its power has almost gone. The Farmer-Labor Coalition is still to be reckoned with, but it has the handicap of trying to harmonize two groups, one industrial and urban, and the other rural, making a workable amalgamation of interests difficult if not impossible.

From the World Almanac for 1924, Professor Taylor constructed the following table showing the strength of the political parties in which mobilized farmer political strength has been more or less of a factor in national elections.

The nearest to a separate political party of farmers in national affairs has been the People's Party. It is doubtful if there is any strong tendency towards a farmers' political

party. Since the elections of 1896, the strength of the farmer vote has been quite well divided between the two old-line parties, and the farmers are now finding ways and means of obtaining political ends through these channels. The movements of the past have, as we have seen, given the farmers a sense of their power and have enlightened the public at large in no small degree to the needs of satisfying the demands of this important group.

TABLE 14

PARTIES IN WHICH MOBILIZED FARMER VOTES HAVE BEEN A FACTOR.
ELECTIONS BETWEEN 1848 AND 1924¹⁶

<i>Presidential Election Year</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total Popular Votes</i>
1848	Free Soil	10.1
1852	Free Soil	4.9
1856	(There is no evidence that the farmers rallied in special membership to the "Know-Nothing Party")	
1860		
1864		
1868		
1872	Labor Reform	0.39
1876	Greenback	0.97
1880	Greenback	3.3
1884	Greenback and Anti-Monopoly	1.5
1888	Union-Labor	1.3
1892	People's	8.5
1896	People's-Democrat	48.4
1900	People's	0.36
1904	People's	0.85
1908	People's	0.19
1912		
1916		
1920	Farmer-Labor	1.0
1924	Independent, etc. (La Follette Group)	13.1

¹⁶ Taylor, C. C., "Rural Sociology," p. 447, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1926.

WAYS AND MEANS WHEREBY FARMERS EXERCISE
POLITICAL INFLUENCE

Farmer organizations.—Farmers are using their organizations as never before, and in a most effective manner, as mediums through which they express their political interests to candidates for political office, to legislatures, and to Congress. The great national general organizations like the Grange, the Alliance, the Farm Bureau, as well as the specialized national organizations like the Corn Growers, Cotton Growers, Live-stock Associations, and numerous others, exercise no small influence in state and national assemblies. Lobbying, appearance before committees, and educational propaganda of various sorts are measures used.

The farm bloc.—Following the lead and tactics of other interests using "blocs" to obtain their ends, outstanding congressmen interested in rural legislative measures organized the Farm Bloc in Congress in 1921. This has been formed around four major problems which are carefully studied by committees of Bloc congressmen. The four divisions are: transportation, Federal Reserve Act, commodity financing, and miscellaneous agricultural bills.

The Farm Bloc is a non-partisan group which resorts to a zealous championing and support of agricultural measures of undoubted need and worth to the agricultural and general social interests of the country. Senator Capper says:

When it was once apparent that the Bloc could mobilize the strength to secure final passage for a bill, the opponents of agriculture shifted their tactics to the extent that they began to present numerous amendments to various bills designed to modify the general purpose of the bill. The Bloc was just as effective in meeting these raids as it was in holding the Senate to its task and advancing the measures as rapidly as possible.¹⁷

The Bloc has been of great service to farmers in speeding up

¹⁷ Capper, Arthur, "The Agricultural Bloc," p. 157, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1922.

needed legislation. It has usually taken one important measure at a time and driven hard on it in both houses of Congress until it came through in a satisfactory manner. The Bloc, working in conjunction with the *Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry*, which was formed in the 67th Congress, has been instrumental in bringing about some notable legislation for rural interests. The commission has been a fact-finding body. Some of the desirable results growing out of the activities of one or the other or both of these groups are:

1. Extension of agricultural credits and federal reserve acts to give greater flexibility for loans on live-stock and the farm business.
2. Capper-Volstead Act of 1922, giving farmers' co-operative organizations certain immunity under the anti-trust laws.
3. Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, in which the Secretary of Agriculture regulates packers, stockyards owners, market agencies, and dealers.
4. Grain Futures Act of 1922, which seeks better co-operative relations between the Secretary of Agriculture and the boards of trade, grain exchanges, and the marketers of grain. This is intended to eliminate much of the gambling in grain futures.
5. Freight rate investigations of 1925, seeking to obtain lower rates on agricultural products, many of which are naturally bulky, possessing relatively low value for their bulk and therefore unable to sustain high freight rates.
6. The Purnell Act of 1925, a significant piece of legislation giving the agricultural experiment stations of the country aid and funds to support work in farm management, marketing, home economics, and rural social problems. This was the first time Congress recognized the sociological problems of rural life.

Governmental aids to agriculture.—The basic nature of agriculture in our society gives it a universal reach enjoyed

by few or no other industries. We have usually been addicted to a policy of stimulating and aiding agriculture for the good that such will do for all society. This sort of policy has met with severe criticism at times at the hands of interests who failed to grasp the full significance of it; drifting and *laissez faire* attitudes have characterized actions of others; spontaneous, and intermittent, participation has characterized much of farmer interest and response. But out of it all have come many substantial results.

In the chapters on rural education we shall mention some of the service functions extended by the United States Department of Agriculture to agricultural colleges, and experiment stations, through boys' and girls' clubs, county agricultural and home demonstration agents, and other avenues. In the chapter on health factors and health service will be mentioned the aid given by the United States and the various State Public Health Departments. Besides these, are aids given through the Departments of Interior and Commerce, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Trade Commission, as well as the Federal Farm Loan Board. All have direct service relations to agricultural interests.

In our state governments we find considerable aid being extended to various agricultural interests. Direct appropriations are made to state boards of agriculture, agricultural societies, agricultural colleges, rural schools, and rural developmental projects of different kinds. State aid for road building, for the control of plant and animal diseases, flood waters, etc., are other important features showing state interest in agriculture.

SUMMARY

We can well say that the farmer has a vital stake in politics and government, whether local, state, or national. His social

and economic welfare is so closely entwined with the political that it behooves him to keep his program of interests and activities broad and balanced. He himself can render large service to his causes and to society. It is rightfully expected of him that he exert himself to keep up his end in the increasingly complex structure of political and governmental life today. As the farmer builds himself solidly into the social, economic, and political fabric of the nation through intelligently laid plans, so will he strengthen himself and society. Professor H. C. Taylor well states:

Our American civilization is based upon the principle of free and equal opportunities for all classes of society. American farmers know what it means to exercise their own intelligence and their own wills in directing the affairs of their farms and their communities. They have known freedom in their relations to the state and the nation. This position is now endangered. To maintain our American civilization Uncle Sam must make the agricultural program effective. The future trend of land values depends largely upon the effectiveness of Uncle Sam, which in turn depends upon the effectiveness of the citizens of rural America in making their votes influence public affairs.¹⁸

There is little doubt that the first place for the farmer to begin making more effective his influence in political life is within his local jurisdiction. We have pointed out that in few cases does he have the right conditions available in these important areas. Municipal governments have been undergoing changes and modernization, to fit them the more completely to represent the increasing complex conditions of urban life. Rural government has changed little, although changes in social and economic conditions in the countryside have been numerous and significant. The science of rural polities has been almost dormant in America; certainly, it has

¹⁸ "Land Valuation," p. 57, *Bulletin 255, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, 1927.*

failed to respond to new social needs and social demands. The faults are due partly to the farmers and partly to society at large. Evidences have been presented in this chapter to show that both are taking cognizance of the conditions and are making an effort to bring about more effective political units and more effective service within these units. The developments of rural social studies have played no small part in showing the need of a better alignment of social, economic, and political factors in rural life.

CHAPTER XII

TOWN AND COUNTRY RELATIONSHIPS

IT IS becoming evident on all sides that there is developing a more satisfactory understanding between town people on the one hand and country people on the other. That they are banishing old troubles and perfecting agreeable working relations is testified to in numerous instances throughout various sections of the country. Before we proceed in presenting the details of this developing co-operation, it will be profitable to analyze the causes lying back of the differences which have been productive of misunderstandings and undesirable rivalry between town and country people.

The town and country dilemma.—To any student of human society the mutual importance of harmonious relationships between the farmer and the townsman is so obvious that it is often difficult to appreciate that they do have, and have had, serious difficulties.

Rather generally throughout colonial America, on the southern plantation of early days, and later on the western ranch, there was a condition akin to that of earlier days in Europe. Prestige and influence were held by the rural residents; land holding was prized, and the farmer was an important leader in social and political life. Property and wealth, and therefore influence, rested in the countryside. The townsman had small importance; he produced little of value, and was used relatively little to facilitate exchange. Many colonial and plantation farmers used to trade directly with foreign merchants—having their own shipping and supply stations. Farmers formed state constitutions, controlled legislative as-

semblies, and sent their own men to the highest offices in the land. Rural influence in town and industrial development was tremendous, both directly, by the contribution of men themselves, and indirectly, by the accumulating surpluses of farm production.

Gradually the tide turned against the country, especially with the expansion of trade and commerce, and the development of machine manufacture which lessened the importance of home manufacture. More and more did wealth and power come to reside in towns and cities. The shift became rapid during the industrial revolution both in Europe and in America. So powerful did certain urban areas become that the effects were felt throughout urban life; towns aped cities and turned their attentions away from the country, endeavoring to grow into cities of wealth and influence.

Further, as farmers scattered throughout the western domain, settling in isolated family units, they dissipated their social and economic unities; they led a relatively self-sufficient existence, trade relations with towns did not cut deeply into their economic affairs, home industries prevailed and helped to take care of economic needs. Their social institutions were limited in range. As the western lands filled up, however, and with the use of better farm machinery and the increase in use and demand of manufactured products, farmers fell more and more under the influence of town centers. Commercial agriculture requires many more middlemen than a self-sufficing agriculture. Trade and exchange with other groups bulk larger and larger in the farmer's business. With towns aping cities, taking on as much of the ease and comfort as possible of urban life, and farmers living as much as possible unto themselves, there was little to draw the two groups together. When they did need to set up more definite working relations, much appeared to complicate the situation. We find trade relations one of the major problems entering into their differences. A whole train of ills flowed from and centered

more or less about these problems of exchange. Probably a setting forth of the different angles of the town-country problems, as seen from each side, will more fully introduce us to our subject.

The dilemma as the farmer sees it.—The farmer has clung tenaciously to the old 17th century economic theory of the Physiocrats that only agriculture is capable of producing a net surplus; therefore the farmer is a producer, and other classes are simply manipulators. As the economist states it:

The artisans were simply the domestic servants, or, to use Turgot's phrase, the hirelings of the agriculturists. Strictly speaking, the latter could keep the whole net product to themselves, but finding it more convenient, they entrust the making of their clothes, the erection of their houses, and the production of their implements to the artisans, giving them a portion of the net product as remuneration.¹

In other words, the farmer has experienced difficulty in conforming to the modern economic idea of utility production, and in giving merchants and townsmen, generally, a ranking along with himself as producers of new worth and value. This difficulty has stood in his light in acceding to them profits for handling and facilitating his exchanges. Especially has he become aroused as he saw townsmen grow in wealth and comfort out of the rewards of their strategic positions. No doubt the indiscriminating acts of unscrupulous individuals in exacting big tolls and profits have played a large part in arousing the suspicion and mistrust of the farmer. Townsmen, generally, have adopted higher and better standards of living than have many of their farmer clientele; this tends to widen the gap, particularly if the farmer feels this is not so well earned as is his less pretentious standard of living.

The farmer feels the townsman is "stuck-up" and holds himself superior to one who works the soil. The townsman's

¹ Gide, Chas., and Rist, Chas., "History of Economic Doctrines," p. 14, D. C. Heath and Company, New York, 1913.

seemingly easier mode of work and living tends to accentuate this to the individual who thinks superficially about such matters.

The farmer feels the townsman is little interested in him and his affairs, save only as they contribute to the immediate gains of the town. The town, aping the city, and failing to cultivate the farmer in both the social and economic affairs of the town, is responsible for this attitude; anything which smacks of a reaching-down to the farmer serves to add fuel to this feeling.

Many farmers have held that the town is unwholesome; they hesitate to have their children go there, or become educated there. This point has been carried into practical application by farmers actually avoiding town and village centers as places for consolidating their rural schools, however convenient geographically and socially such places might be.

The dilemma as the townsman sees it.—The townsman feels that the farmer uses him unfairly in business matters; that when his cash is low he trades with him on credit, but when the farmer has money he will go to the city, or use the mail-order house. This shows to the townsman that the farmer does not have an abiding interest in the town.

A further extension of this impression is the feeling that the farmer is unappreciative of the regular intermediary exchange service the townsman stands ready to give; that through the farmer's acts in organizing co-operative exchanges for buying merchandise and the like, he is unwilling to pay a fair price to one who fits himself as an exchange agent in his locality.

The townsman feels that the farmer is a poor business man, because he is too parsimonious, "penny-wise and pound-foolish"; that he does not appreciate values in goods and services; and that he is not willing to pay for good values and services.

The townsman frequently looks upon the farmer as uncouth and lacking in an appreciation of the better things

of life; these he sees often portrayed in the farmer's unkempt person, and in the disorderly condition of his farm premises.

The townsman feels that the farmer is independent to an obsession, and that this makes him over-sensitive and easily offended by trivialities which he carries as grudges.

The above are some of the main points of difference as the two parties see them; there may be others depending upon the locality, its history, economic, and social foundation. Suffice it to say, that many of these problems have kept the pot boiling and have resulted in all sorts of action, political, economic, and social.

Some active causes of friction between farmer and townsman.—Brunner, Hughes, and Patten, out of a study of 140 agricultural villages, have classified the chief causes of friction as follows:

TABLE 15

ACTIVE CAUSES OF FRICTION BETWEEN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY ²

Cause	Cases Reported
Total.....	68
Inadvertent acts.....	17
Prices.....	17
School administration or program.....	10
Policy of farmers' co-operatives.....	8
Credit and banking.....	8
Industry.....	4
Politics.....	4

We see in this table a fairly good rating of the relative importance of some of the factors just discussed. Thus it is observable how marked are the economic factors revolving about the processes of exchange, and involving prices, indus-

² Brunner, E. de S., Hughes, G. S., and Patten, M., "American Agricultural Villages," p. 98, George H. Doran and Company, New York, 1927. Permission of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York.

try, and farmers' co-operatives. The authors³ cite a number of cases listed under inadvertent acts; one relates to the assumption on the part of villagers that all farmers drove automobiles; therefore, the village had no further use of hitching posts and watering troughs. The removal of these brought a storm of protest from the farmers, a switching of their trade to other towns, and a misunderstanding that lingered long, even after the village restored hitching posts and watering troughs. Another instance relates to charging rural customers toll for telephone service on a line other than the one on which their phones were located. This instance resulted in the farmers organizing their own telephone company and boycotting the village stores for months.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COUNTRY TOWN

Number and population.—An examination of the census monographs on population shows at once the vast numbers of small centers of population in the country and the large percentage of the total population they contain. The following table shows the so-called village population in 1920 to be 20,047,377 persons or 19.0 per cent of the total population:

TABLE 16

FARM, VILLAGE, AND URBAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1920⁴

Class	Number	Per Cent
Total population.....	105,710,620	100.0
Farm population.....	31,614,269	29.9
Village population.....	20,047,377	19.0
Urban population (excluding urban-farm).....	54,048,974	51.1

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 98–100.

⁴ *Census Monograph VI*, Farm Population of the United States, 1920, p. 53, Census Bureau, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Brunner states:

In 1920, 18,381 places with a population of between 250 and 2500 were recorded, six times as many as there are places with larger populations. Of these villages, 10,239, or 55.7 per cent were incorporated as boroughs, villages, towns, or even as cities. In addition, there were 2619 places with fewer than 250 inhabitants that in 1920 were incorporated. A great majority of these villages, probably four-fifths, are "agricultural" in the sense that they are located in farming areas and are service stations for the farmer.⁵

Brunner bases his figures upon a somewhat different tabulation from that given in Table 16. By using a more limited definition of the word village, he estimates that the total population of villages in 1920 should be placed at 12,858,521, instead of 20,047,377 as given by the census. The reader is referred to his discussion of this subject in the reference cited below.

If we should consult a map showing the village and town distribution in the United States, we would find their greatest concentration in the states of Iowa, Illinois, and Ohio; also a relatively high concentration in all of the better agricultural regions east of the 100th ° meridian. We would also find clusters of villages and towns around some of the large manufacturing and mercantile centers, in coal-mining and oil-producing regions; these, of course, are mainly non-agricultural in their significance. Resort villages and towns along seashores, lakes, in the mountains, and similar places of health or scenic interest, are chiefly non-rural.

Dr. Brunner estimates that about one person in every eight in the United States lives in a village. He shows that this ratio is slightly exceeded in the Middle West, where, as before noted, villages and towns are very concentrated. The fact that towns and villages are closely associated with agricultural

⁵ Brunner, E. de S., "Village Communities," p. 14, George H. Doran and Company, New York, 1927. Permission of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York.

regions implies that there must be some sort of correspondence of functions. This we shall next examine.

The town as a rural center.—The town is a logical center for the surrounding countryside. Under modern systems of agricultural production and exchange, frequent contacts have to be made with the larger world interests outside the farm neighborhood and community; the town serves as a sort of reservoir for collecting and focusing these contacts and interests. Farmers need the services of professional groups, and desire to have near at hand certain institutional aids which need concentration and association of numbers of people for their maintenance and development. Newspapers, banks, stores, postoffices, and theaters all require frequent use by many people to warrant their existence. Towns become concentration places for and because of these. The farmer is interested in having these agencies for his use; he wants them and needs them where and when he can use them to his greatest advantage. Town location and growth in rural sections will be seen answering the demands along these and similar lines. The author has witnessed the birth and development of several small rural centers in the Central West. In one instance a consolidated school location led the way to a village development in the open country; in another, it was a cross-roads store, and later, a garage. The evolution is not so simple and direct in all cases. Sometimes complex social, industrial, and political factors operate; but in the main, if it is a rural town, the ideas of country patronage and country service are functioning.

There are two outstanding purposes which the rural town must satisfy. *First*, it has to provide service functions for the surrounding rural areas; and *second*, it must be capable of providing for the livelihood and support of its own residents. These two factors go hand in hand.

THE SERVICES OF THE RURAL TOWN

An analysis of towns from the point of view of the services they are equipped to render helps to give a more scientific understanding of their relations to their supporting population groups. Professor Kolb,⁶ in his bulletin on "Service Relations of Town and Country," gives five general types of centers as follows:

1. The single service type
2. The limited, simple service type
3. The semi-complete or intermediate type
4. The complete and partially specialized type
5. Urban and highly specialized type

Hamlets and cross-roads store places, with only a few homes grouped around the center, would fall into the first class. Usually a church, school, or general store is the service-rendering agency.

The second type is also limited, but will comprise a larger population grouping—from 100 to 400 inhabitants at the center.

With the third type, Kolb places the population at 400 to 1200 persons and says, "The general trade areas of this type of center are relatively large, and the amount of business from the farm source is nearly 75 per cent of the total."⁷

In the fourth type, the population ranges from 1200 to 5000, and "the general trade areas are relatively smaller than in the third type, but the specialized areas are much larger."⁸

The fifth type includes places with population above 5000, which gives quite complete centers and many different services at the command of the supporting population.

⁶ Kolb, J. H., "Service Relations of Town and Country," pp. 5-6, *Research Bulletin No. 58*, Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Madison, Wisconsin, 1923.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*

The services which the town renders the farmer may be classed under five main heads as follows:

1. Business-trade, exchange, finance, professional
2. Social and recreational
3. Educational
4. Religious
5. Medical and social service

The business service.—By far the strongest of the five is the business service. It is chiefly this one which causes farmers to classify towns as good or poor. As pointed out earlier in the chapter, it is over this service that considerable misunderstanding arises between farmers and townsmen.

The area of the countryside from which the town draws its trade is commonly called its trade area; a study of the size and composition of the trade area of towns will indicate, in a large measure, the degree of success the town has in meeting the business and general economic needs of the farmer. Figure 12 indicates trade area sizes for different-sized towns.

If an analysis be made of the areas of trade for different businesses in a town, it will be found that some have far larger belts of patronage among the farmers than do others. This may be due to a number of things. Some goods and some services are of relatively infrequent demand, such as furniture, which has a longer life than groceries, for instance, or legal services, which are among the specialized services. Consequently, for goods and services of this sort, a wide zone will be needed for their support. Farm implements and machines also require a relatively large territory. These facts help explain the prevalence of a goodly number of limited service centers which will be found in counties and other areas where there are few complete service centers. The limited service centers are developed to bring such service as groceries, garage, blacksmith, church, and school close to the frequent uses of the people.

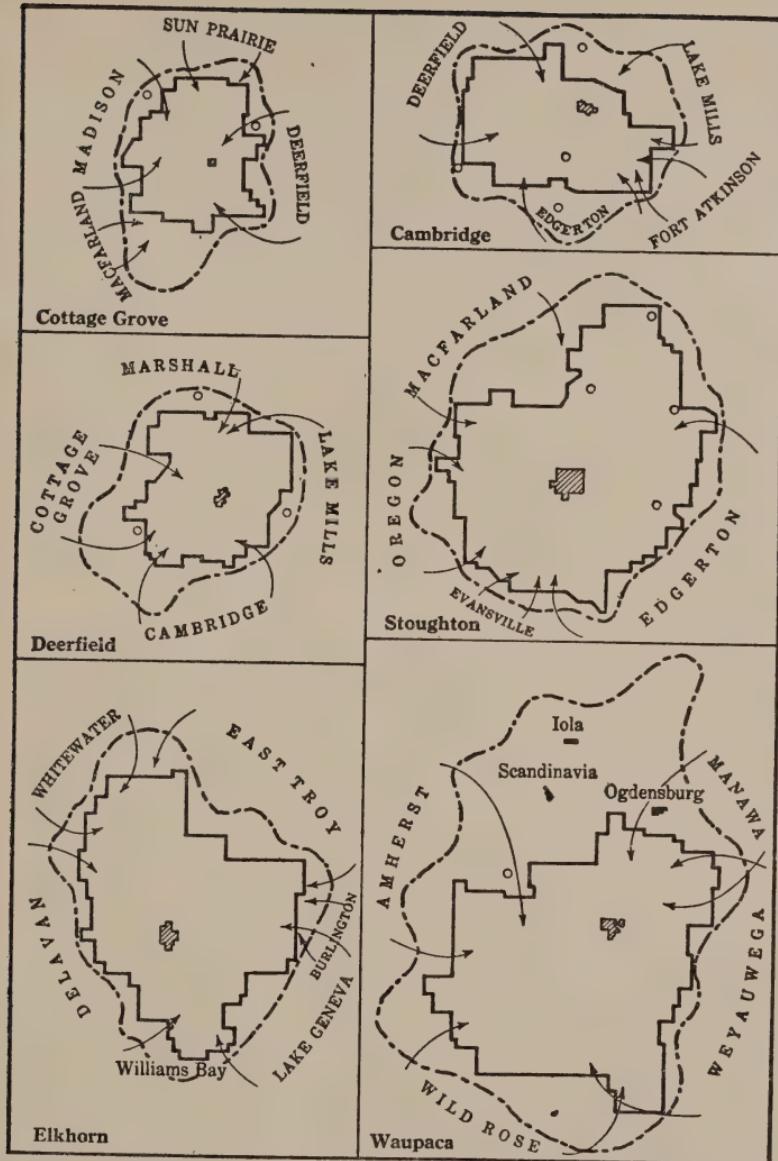


FIG. 12.—The General Trade Areas and The Maximum Service Areas of Six Wisconsin Towns.⁹ "The solid black line indicates the general trade area while the broken swinging curve represents the maximum area to which any service extends. The small circles indicate location of open country stands. The arrows show encroachments from near-by towns."¹⁰

⁹ Kolb, J. H., *op. cit.*, p. 44.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

The services the farmer seeks in the town are so fundamentally important to both the farmer and the townsman that the attitudes taken and treatment given by the service-rendering agents become almost as important, if not equally important, as the economic good that is obtained. This is true in any of the various lines of trade, whether we consider stores and shops, shipping and storage, professional service, newspapers, lumber yards, or banks.

The town's merchants are pivotal in almost all respects of town and country relations. All farmers come under their influence in one way or another. The attitude many a farmer carries toward his town center is that formed through the treatment, the kind of services rendered, and the values received in contact with the merchant.¹¹

Professor Kolb gives an analysis of the prevailing kinds of commercial services found in rural centers of various sizes, conforming somewhat to the types of centers listed above. A study of his table given on page 291 will show how business concerns group according to size of centers.

In this table we see the limited range of service of the small center; the general store holds much importance in such places. A good distribution of the use of service agencies is observable in towns of 1000 population and above.

The social and recreational services.—These services are of secondary importance to the business and economic services. Farmers and townsmen have not learned to take their play together on a very large scale. The farmer does look to the town centers for some of his social and recreational life, however. Much promise towards better mutual relations between the town and country lies in a greater cultivation of the social and recreational features.

¹¹ Hayes, Augustus W., "Some Factors in Town and Country Relationships," p. 8, *Research Bulletin No. 1*, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1922.

TABLE 17

AVERAGE NUMBER OF TEN KINDS OF COMMERCIAL CONCERNs PER TOWn IN ALL TOWNS IN DANE COUNTY, ELKHORN AND WAUPACA ¹²

Average Number of Business Concerns per Town

Towns by Size in Population	Number of Towns in Class	General Store	Grocery	Hardware	Furniture	Lumber and Coal
100- 300	11	2.1	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.7
301- 500	7	2.8	0.7	1.3	0.7	1.1
501-1000	6	3.6	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.5
1001-2000	3	3.3	2.6	2.0	1.6	2.3
2001-6000	2	1.5	10.0	6.0	3.5	3.5
	Garage	Farm and Dairy Products	Bank	Commercial Amusement	Manufacturing	
100- 300	1.4	1.3	0.5	0.3	0.1	
301- 500	1.7	2.7	1.1	1.4	1.6	
501-1000	3.1	2.3	1.8	1.6	1.0	
1001-2000	5.0	3.3	2.0	3.0	3.0	
2001-6000	7.5	9.5	2.5	5.0	7.5	

An apparent inconsistency between the economic and social services of towns needs to be overcome. As towns become larger, they are better able to render a wider and more effective economic service to the farmer, but this very development in size seems to render them less able to reach and gain the farmer in social and recreational services. We have this sort of thing to contend with here:

As we descend from the small city to the crossroads store, we find the farmer figuring more and more in the makeup of the town,

¹² Kolb, J. H., *op. cit.*, p. 16.

in both its business and social life; but, while he gains here in interest and in numbers, he loses in opportunities for the higher choices and standards available, and in diversity of institutions. The substance of it all is the farmer feels "at home" in the smaller centers and does not in the city.¹³

The sequel is the larger centers need to broaden their interests in the social life of their farmers, and the smaller centers need to give a higher grade of economic service.

In an analysis of several grades of town centers in Louisiana the author found a rather regular trend in the patronage, as indicated by the above quotation. Cheneyville, Louisiana, a town of 500 inhabitants, was the most typical rural town in the group studied. Here the patronage of social and recreational organizations was equally divided between townsmen and farmers. The two men's and women's lodges, with memberships of around 50 each, had about one-half their membership from the country and about one-half from the town. The same was true of a floral society, and similar proportions held as to the chautauqua, and lyceum. In Oakdale, a town of 8000 people, the Ladies' Civic League of 46 members did not have a rural member. Here the complaint was made from many quarters that farm women do not mix well with the city women. Farmers and their families seldom attend lyceum courses or entertainments held in the city. The lodges, clubs, and other social organizations of Oakdale were decidedly low in farmer membership. In Alexandria, a city of 20,000 inhabitants, with an excellent agricultural setting, where considerable effort has been put forth from time to time to enlist farmer interest, a similar situation was discovered. The Rotary Club of Alexandria, with a membership of 90 persons, did not have a single farmer member; the Kiwanis Club, with a membership of 60 persons, had two farmer members. The Chamber of Commerce, with a membership of 552 persons, had 12 farmer members. The picture

¹³ Hayes, Augustus W., *op. cit.*, p. 44.

shows had an average daily attendance of around 1200 persons, 10 to 12 per cent of whom would be farm people.¹⁴

There is little doubt that differences in standards of life have a considerable part to play in conditions as just given. Between the farm and the small town, there is much less difference in standards of dress, social conventions, home living conditions, and the like, than there are between the farm and the small city. Standards of life have deep and abiding influences, and are factors to be reckoned with in all seriousness. One of the fundamental services town centers should afford farmers is that of ways and means of improving their standards of life.

Educational services.—The town occupies an important position in regard to the educational advancement of the rural areas it serves. The daily and weekly newspapers are being depended upon more and more by the farmer to inform him of current events, and to keep him abreast of the social conventions. They hold a peculiarly strategic position in directing the thought and will of their urban and rural constituencies. The advertising programs of the town, also have an important part to play in regard to the choices both farmers and townsmen will display.

In the lecture and chautauqua field, towns act as logical centers for bringing before the rural population good speakers and entertainment. The following table shows a number of points of interest concerning the size of towns giving chautauquas, the per cent of farmer attendance, and the type of programs.

Chautauqua leaders claim that the chautauqua is a rural institution, and that it gets its most appreciative audiences in the smaller urban centers of the country. Farmers have little desire for special farm programs at chautauquas; they prefer lectures on questions not directly related to their economic enterprise.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*

TABLE 18

STATISTICS OF SEVEN CHAUTAUQUA COMPANIES¹⁵

<i>Company</i>	<i>Per Cent of Performances in Towns of Over 2,500</i>	<i>Per Cent of Performances in Towns of 2,500 to 10,000</i>	<i>Per Cent of Performances in Towns of Over 10,000</i>	<i>Per Cent of Attendance by Rural People</i>	<i>Giving Special Farmer Programs</i>
A	75	20	5	75	No
B	75	10	15	15	No
C	100	0	0	50	No
D	40	52	8	20	Yes
E	82	14	4	10	Yes
F	80	15	5	20	No
G	50	40	10	25	Yes

In schools and library service the farmer naturally turns to the town centers for aid. Under the system of one-room rural schools country boys and girls look to the local village or town high school to help prepare them for life or for college. The school consolidation movement is enabling towns to function more effectively in both their own school interests and those of the country. More and more are towns and the surrounding countryside consolidating their school systems. Under such plans the best sort of conditions are laid for mutual service between town and country.

Library service, although still in its infancy in many parts of the country, is most effectively handled through town centers. Whether it be a comprehensive state and county library service, such as California is establishing, the traveling library, prevalent in a good many areas, or library efforts of a purely local nature, the towns are natural nucleating and organizing

¹⁵ Taylor C. C., "Rural Sociology," p. 282, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1926.

points for gathering library materials and making them available to readers.

Of Wisconsin's 208 local libraries, Professor Kolb¹⁶ reports that 62 per cent are located in places of less than 2500 population and 18.8 per cent in places of 2500 to 5000 population. He shows, however, that this is only a beginning of the possibilities of library service of town centers as only 8.5 per cent of the incorporated and unincorporated places of less than 2500 population in Wisconsin have libraries. In these respects, Wisconsin is little different from most states, and far better equipped than some.

Religious services of towns.—There is considerable variability as to the extent of religious services. Sometimes nearness to the center is the deciding factor as to how frequently country people use the institutions of religion there. More often, without doubt, social cleavages, and a feeling of "at homeness" in the local rural church operate to retain the country people in spite of nearness, better sermons, better music, and a more modern church building in the town center. The size of the center will have an influence upon the rural patronage of the town's religious institutions in much the same manner as we discovered relative to the other interests. As we proceed from the small center to the larger places, the farmer figures less and less in the religious institutions.

In a study of a county seat center of 5000 inhabitants in a rural county in Indiana, the author found the following condition as to farmer attendance at the town churches. "On Sundays, the six churches are found strikingly deficient in farm family attendance. The farmer feels little affiliation with the town church; he has his own at the cross-roads a few miles out."¹⁷ In another instance, in Louisiana, it was

¹⁶ Kolb, J. H., "Service Institutions for Town and Country," p. 27, *Research Bulletin* 66, Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Madison, Wisconsin, 1925.

¹⁷ Hayes, Augustus W., "Rural Community Organization," p. 29, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1921.

learned for the small city of Oakdale, with a population of 8000, that "among the four churches in Oakdale, the Baptist leads the list in number of country members. Out of a total membership of 600, it has about 75 country members. The Presbyterian church has only a small membership in the city and none in the country. The Methodist church has a total membership of 225, of which 25 are farm people. The Catholic church has a total membership of 200, of which 20 are from the country."¹⁸

In the larger city of Alexandria the percentage of rural members in the city churches was about the same as for Oakdale, but in the small town of Cheneyville as many rural members as town members belonged to the churches of the town.¹⁹

Dr. Perry Denune, in a study of the *Social and Economic Relations of the Farmers with the Towns in Pickaway County, Ohio*, found that

Membership and attendance by farmers in town churches seemed to be influenced by distance from farm to town more than any other of the town-country relationships studied. The average distance farmers went to attend church services was relatively short, being slightly under three miles for all.²⁰

Professor Kolb in his studies in Wisconsin, finds

The service areas of the towns respecting church attendance are all comparatively smaller than the other areas studied up to this point. . . . One reason for this more limited service of the town

¹⁸ Hayes, Augustus W., "Some Factors in Town and Country Relationships," *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Denune, Perry P., "The Social and Economic Relations of the Farmers with the Towns in Pickaway County, Ohio," p. 65, Bureau of Business Research *Monograph* Number 9, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1927.

to the country is the presence of a considerable number of open country churches.²¹

We may reasonably expect to see many of the rural churches following the lead of the school and centralizing their services more and more in the conveniently located centers. Through such a plan the town becomes a more effective center for religious service. A more effective program of social and recreational unity will have to accompany such a program of rural and town religious-service unity, for the two are closely allied.

Medical and social services.—In these fields the advantages of the towns as centers are at once apparent. Hospitals, laboratories, drug stores, and welfare agencies are needed—towns furnish the location and background for the work of these institutions and agencies.

Kolb²² found that out of the 114 general hospitals in Wisconsin, 38.6 per cent are in towns of 5000 or less population. He found 20 counties in the state, however, which have no hospitals for the treatment of general medical cases. In the chapter on health factors full treatment will be given details relating to rural hospitals and medical service, but suffice it to state that towns and the surrounding country residents are finding it highly profitable to unite their forces in providing hospital facilities and better medical and drug service for themselves. The unit in hospital service is the bed. Careful studies have shown that one hospital bed, under the prevailing average sickness incidence, will be sufficient for about 200 population, or 5 beds per 1000 population, or 25 beds per 5000 population. In hospital construction, maintenance, and support, a 25-bed hospital is about the minimum that can be maintained in a state of efficiency under general average conditions. This all means that town and country people need

²¹ Kolb, J. H., "Service Relations of Town and Country," *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

²² Kolb, J. H., "Service Institutions for Town and Country," *op. cit.*, p. 43.

each other's co-operation in developing hospital services for themselves. As Kolb states:

Once the small community is organized and related to some hospital unit of recognized size and service, its people—farm and town folk—can avail themselves of an excellent state service.²³

In social welfare work the superior opportunities of organization and centralization of agencies give town and urban centers the advantage over the country; these should be extended to the countryside. Some method of equalization needs to be worked out so better proportions may be established and the rural districts given larger benefits in social welfare service. These factors will be treated more fully in a later chapter.

TOWN AND COUNTRY CO-OPERATION

Joint institutional development.—As suggested in previous paragraphs, the joint ownership and use of many of the service agencies needed by both town and country people is necessary if both groups are to have these agencies of a desirable grade and value. The town and its countryside need to act as a unit in all possible ventures, because they are mutually concerned in the results.

A most interesting movement in the direction of closer working relationships is that of zoning the countryside around the town. This has been practiced in a few instances with considerable success. The old town limit, or town boundary, idea has been done away with, and zones of different widths have been thrown around the center. The zones nearest the center bear a higher proportion of responsibility to tax supported institutions in the center than the zones farther out, because of the general fact that, other things being equal, the nearby population will use the center more than the farther-lying

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

population. This scheme holds much of value; its further use and development await careful evaluations and analyses of the intensity of use given or required of the facilities at the center by the rural residents in different prospective zones. Also, in going from the center to its outermost rural zone, a graded distribution of the responsibilities of the center to the countryside would need to be made.

If the farmer could be brought into such relations as to share equitably with the townsman in the support and maintenance of many of the public and semi-public institutions he uses at the center, he would feel less an outsider, and the townsman would be morally obligated to show him greater consideration than would otherwise be the case. The townsman, on the other hand, needs to know his rural territory better and be drawn upon to help build its roads, drains, open-country parks, and similar public enterprises.

In private and semi-public institutions, such as banks, stores, small industries, elevators, and warehouses, farmer financial support and management are desirable. Farmers need outlets other than land for investing their earnings and savings. It is reasonable for them to invest where their interests lie, and certainly an important share of their interests centers in their trading town. The banks, stores, elevators, and other businesses are necessary to the completion of their business cycles—similar to their barns, land, and equipment at the farm end of the line. Farmer-owned banks, elevators, and exchanges testify that there is a recognition of the validity of this sort of ownership in town institutions. Urban practice in finance leads town and city investors to place their money in farm lands, farm improvement schemes, live-stock, and farm mortgages. If farmers did likewise in business and institutional development in their town centers, the mutuality of these interwoven interests would help bring about more understandable relations between townsman and farmer.

Wherever farmer investments are strong in town centers,

a healthful understanding and unity of town-country relations generally prevails. When farmers and townsmen sit together on financial boards in which they are interested in similar ways, commonness of purposes develops which is carried into other avenues of relationship. The financial, social, and educational unity developed through the common support of a consolidated school system in a town center has proved very helpful along these lines.

The mutual division of interests.—The question naturally arises as to how far farmers should be expected to go in sharing in the ownership and control of the institutions of their town. A reasonable guide to follow in this matter is that of the logical division of labor between townsman and farmer. The farmer is primarily a producer of raw products from the soil; his chief functions relate to the operations of his farm. The townsman is primarily an exchanger, passing goods both ways between farm and society at large. Each of these two callings requires the major portions of the skill and efforts of the men concerned; each demands training, experience, continuous application; each is so exacting and searching in its requirements that men find it impossible to be both at the same time. It seems reasonable, therefore, that the farmer should not try to absorb the industries of the town; he is simply a heavy patron of them and to that extent interested in their services and development. His participation in the town's institutions would be to the extent of insuring the greatest all-around development of them consistent with both factors to the equation.

The farmer is interested in conserving for the town the functions it can best perform, the same as the town is interested in doing likewise for the farmer; neither should try to absorb the other.

Harlan Paul Douglas states for us the essential position of the town when he says:

The little town is the primary trade center. The town's country is the area which trades with it; which makes common cause with it in buying and selling, in credit and transportation facilities. Its typical functionaires are the retail merchant, the middleman—who takes the farmer's produce and turns it over to the city for consumption—the banker, the postmaster and the railway and express agents. The town's country is the area which comes to it for play, education and worship. Here are the country's moving pictures, its baseball diamonds, and its chautauquas. The little town is the farmer's school of fashion and of social propriety. The more radically the little town adopts the independent point of view the more adequately may it return later to a comprehension of its chief task; namely, the service of the open country on which it depends. After all this is its largest task. The material (and social) fortunes of the little town and open country are identical; their achievements should be common. To fulfill its reasonable service the little town must appreciate and love the country.²⁴

Planned towns and planned co-operation.—A survey of the numerous small towns and hamlets thickly scattered over some portions of the country leads one to wonder if we have not reached the super-saturation point in these matters. Numerous small centers tend to increase the overhead expenses in a manner similar to that of numerous small stores, shops, and business agents within the town itself. The patronage is so divided in either case that it becomes difficult to reach a high level of effectiveness in service or in values. Inadequate organization and service supplies develop. A similar problem, we shall see in a later chapter, faces the rural church in some sections where there is over-churching. The one-room rural school is responding to a similar situation by forming comprehensive units through consolidation.

A study of village growth and decline, made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, has shown that a movement of significance is going on among villages and small

²⁴ Douglas, H. P., "The Little Town," pp. 10, 53 and 54. Copyright, 1919, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

towns which may result in more comprehensive centers for the farmer. Dr. Fry, in commenting on this study, states:

The general conclusion of this investigation into the growth and decline of villages since 1900 seems to be not only that villages are growing in population but that in relation to the rest of the rural population they are growing very rapidly indeed. Of course, this should not be understood to mean that *all* villages are growing. Obviously, some villages are actually losing population.²⁵

The extent to which small and inefficient villages are going out of existence owing to the development of better modes of travel and the enlarged community interests of the farmer is difficult to measure. Fry says further:

It may be that in the future small villages will be eliminated through the competition of the large centers; but, as yet, this tendency does not appear to have proceeded very far.²⁶

The greatest problem in eliminating outgrown centers will be met in the older settled regions where custom and tradition hold sway about the center. In newer sections and in newly developing areas a strong move is on foot so to place town centers that comprehensive units may develop. The Durham and Delhi town centers in California are outstanding illustrations of planned centers and planned countryside. Here the state of California has endeavored to put into practice the best knowledge of today concerning land settlement and town planning. Through a state department relating to land settlement it has helped lay out and develop Durham and Delhi towns and their surrounding countrysides.

Even though a great deal may not be accomplished at present through a redistribution of more sizable town centers

²⁵ Fry, C. Luther, "American Villagers," p. 54, George H. Doran and Company, New York, 1927. Permission of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

for rural populations, much can be done through better planning and through reorganization within towns. This sort of movement is going on in cities and is accomplishing untold benefits from the points of view of service, beautification, and sanitation. Lifting the ideals of townsmen and farmers as to the large ultimate values flowing from high-type service agencies will enable replanning schemes to become popular. The fact that villages and towns are growing in population, more rapidly than the open country, will give them a good opportunity to expand along modern and more efficient lines. An awakened social consciousness and an informed public opinion will constitute a team that will enable the future towns to mean vastly more to themselves and to the farmer.

SUMMARY

The chief problems in town and country relationships are between the smaller centers of population and the countryside. The city, and especially the large city, oftentimes shows more real interest in and tolerance of rural problems, in proportion to facilities at hand to know situations, than do the village, town, and small city. This situation is due in a large way to the fact that the town and country have used poor psychology in dealing with each other. Both have been at fault because of an unwillingness to co-operate, to give credit and recognition in the right way, and to be vitally concerned about each other's welfare.

The country needs the town fully as much as the town needs the country; their business and social interests constantly cross and re-cross. Certainly joint growth and joint development are the only reasonable activities which should be contemplated between them. The services the one renders the other have been enumerated, and the growing importance of towns has been pointed out. It has also been shown that where there is vital and wholesome co-operation one does not

prosper at the expense of the other, but that each works out its problems in conscious consideration of the welfare of the other. The countryside is needed in helping to make better towns, and towns are needed in helping to develop the country's institutions of social and economic service. Planning towns with a view of their higher efficiency as service-rendering agencies for the country is one of the essential steps towards creating better town and country relations.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RURAL COMMUNITY AND ITS ORGANIZATION

Introduction.—We have learned in the preceding chapters that agriculture as a business and mode of life, like other forms of earning and living, is being compelled to respond to the increasing complexities of modern economic and social practice. More or less has already been stated concerning the ways of this response. It will be the purpose of this chapter to center upon the institutionalization of the organization of the thought, effort, and will of rural groups in the process of better preparing themselves to cope with their social and economic problems.

Fundamental concepts.—The philosophy of the rural community and its organization is that of providing an efficient means for a comprehensive segment of society to co-ordinate and adjust the relations of its individuals and groups with one another, and with other individuals and groups, in such a manner as to attain the greatest results with the least friction and overlapping of functions. This implies that there must be a well-developed group consciousness, a recognition of general interests, and a desire and willingness to accommodate and adjust one with another in order to obtain the ends sought for the whole. A felt need is a motivating force in community organization; loyalty to community objectives is essential. Individuals and groups will not place a strain upon themselves, which is frequently required in community action, unless they can plainly see the need, and desire the accomplishment, sufficiently to integrate their efforts and allow themselves fully to become a part of a unified force.

Community organization, therefore, suggests social change and social development. The individual and the group undergo change in the integration process, whether it be a conscious or an unconscious process, and a community which has perfected a substantial degree of organized activity certainly differs from what it was as discrete and self-centered units. As Professor Steiner well states:

Community organization is, therefore, not merely an essential process; it is also a continuous process in which adjustments are being made and remade to keep pace with changing conditions.¹

Community formation and organization for the farmer has a different set of problems to master from those in urban areas. The farmer is deeply intrenched in his customary activities, which center about a few rather simply organized institutions, such as his schools, churches, and local clubs, and about his small trading centers. All of these have partaken of his individualistic and conservative outlook. The farmer's own physical environment of scattered farmsteads furnishes definite and real difficulties in the way of defining and organizing the community.

THE MEANING OF COMMUNITY

The student in his various sociological and historical studies has, no doubt, found the word "community" used in many diverse senses. It is given a range of meaning reaching from the neighborhood of a half-dozen homes to the world at large. A standard dictionary defines it in much this vague sort of way, by stating that it is a body of persons having common rights, interests, and privileges; a corporation; society generally; common character.

It will help us to clarify the meaning of the term community if we think of it in relation to the sociological content

¹ Steiner, Jesse, "Community Organization," p. 323, The Century Company, New York, 1926.

which it seeks to mobilize and concentrate through organization. In this respect, communities may be thought of as social institutions, the same as families, churches, and schools; and, like these institutions, communities will vary in size, content, meaning, and function. Genetically, the community grows out of, and is based upon, the fundamental social interests and organizations of men. It is given birth when these interests and organizations become sufficiently numerous and alike to develop social complexities that need a larger and more embracing institution for their treatment than the smaller, specialized groupings afford. Communities originate, grow, develop, change, sub-divide, merge, and associate or federate one with another in a manner similar to other social institutions. We may say, then, that a community comes into existence when its social components—individuals and groups—recognize, one with another, a *commonalty* of interests embracing their chief social objectives, which must be met by their general co-operative effort.

As Dr. R. M. McIver well states:

A community is a focus of social life, the common living of social beings; an association is an organization of social life, definitely established for the pursuit of one or more common interests. An association is partial, a community is integral. The members of one association may be members of many other and distinct associations. Within a community there may exist not only numerous associations but also antagonistic associations. Men may associate for the least significant or for the most significant of purposes; the association may mean very much or very little to them, it may mean merely the excuse for a monthly dinner-party, or it may be the guardian of their dearest or highest interests—but community is something wider and freer than even the greatest associations; it is the greater common life out of which associations rise, into which associations bring order, but which associations never completely fulfill.²

² McIver, R. M., "Community," p. 24. Copyright, 1924, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

Professor J. M. Gillette says that a community possesses six attributes as follows: (1) narrow territorial localization, (2) face-to-face contact, (3) a common interest or interests, some of which are peculiar to the local grouping of population that we call "community," (4) consciousness of kind on the part of the inhabitants, (5) permanent co-operative organization for the realization of some interest or interests common to all inhabitants, (6) the existence of a center or centers of interests.³

THE NEIGHBORHOOD

A brief treatment of the neighborhood will be valuable here to help us the more clearly to obtain the significance of the community at a point where considerable confusion exists. The term neighborhood carries the sociological meaning of propinquity, or the neighboring of families and friends in a small primary cluster of homes. Neighborhoods may be large enough to do a number of things on the co-operative basis, such as the development of small primary institutions. Neighborhoods in the country generally mean a relatively close grouping of a number of homes, the members of which may visit back and forth frequently, exchange work with one another, and support a small school or church. Small hamlets and villages in the country are often nothing more than neighborhoods.

Figure 13 on page 309 shows the prevailing area limitations of rural neighborhoods.

Neighborhoods may be so isolated by both physical and social distances that they do not belong to or become a definite part of any community, but satisfy their needs of community institutions by partaking here and there in different communities. Neighborhoods may be, on the other hand, most

³ Quoted from Wood, A. E., in "Community Problems," p. 26, The Century Company, New York, 1928.

effective segments of a community, giving to it variation, color, and diversity of interests. Neighborhoods are dependent;

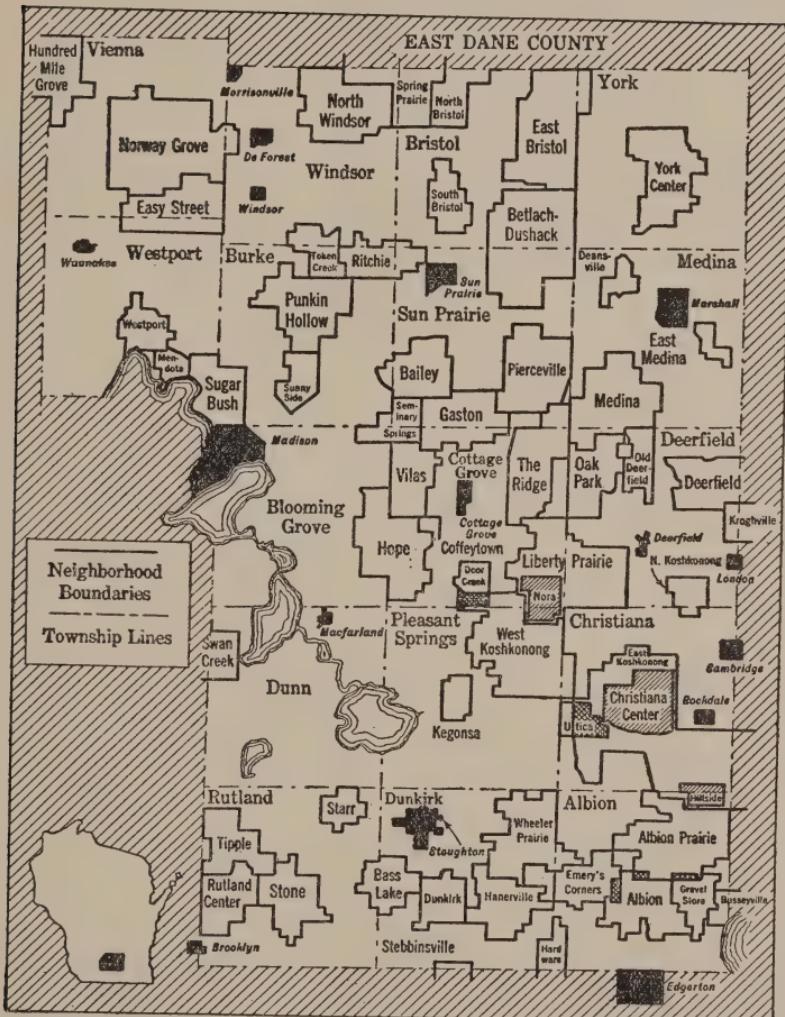


FIG. 13.—Rural Neighborhoods in Eastern Dane County, Wisconsin.⁴

whereas, communities are relatively self-sufficing. Neighbor-

⁴ Kolb, J. H., "Rural Primary Groups," p. 9, *Research Bulletin 51*, Agricultural Experiment Station, Madison, Wisconsin, 1921.

hoods simply do not possess enough of the social elements which arise out of multiple human associations to give ground for any comprehensive social organization.

SOME ESSENTIAL FACTORS OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY

From the foregoing discussion we may expect to have varying degrees of size, varying numbers of people, institutions, organizations, and services, and varying amounts of activity within communities. Such we do have, which again gives the community a similarity to other social institutions.

Area.—That a rural community has area or geographical space which has a similar significance to it as area has to a church, school, or town, there can be little doubt. The fact that persons living within a community maintain relations outside the community need be no more disconcerting than the same practice relative to towns or school districts. Similar to these and other groupings, the community's area may fluctuate and change with changing social conditions. The area of the rural community, in many cases, will be governed by facilities for travel and by natural barriers like swamps, mountains, large streams, etc. The development of town centers, or the historical and social development of the rural sections, may play a large part in determining a community's area, and its boundaries.

Whatever the area, it must be suitable to permit easy communication from all parts with the center. With improved roads, automobiles, and other means of communication, there is a tendency towards the expansion of the area of rural communities. Studies which the author has made of rural communities in the Middle West, the West, and the South have shown this tendency. The old-time, "team-haul sized" rural community is passing. Farmers are building their social life upon a wider plane now than has ever been the case before.

In many sections of the Middle West the congressional township area of 36 square miles has been accepted as a base. This exists largely, however, where the township can be used in an effective social way for school consolidation, road maintenance, Grange organizations, the local Farm Bureau organization, and similar features. There is a strong tendency to get away from the dictation of this straight-sided and arbitrarily defined unit and organize rural community life upon strictly social interest groupings. In the East the rural community follows closely the organization of "towns," which comprise 30 to 40 square miles of territory. In parts of the South 40 to 60 square miles is becoming a common-sized area, and in the West 50 to 120 square miles is commonly found. These figures are merely approximations and show tendencies. Physical and social influences always have to be taken into consideration in reference to respective situations. The figures do give us some conception of the involved area factor and of its relative ranges.

Density of population.—Like area, density of population is a variable factor in rural community development. We would expect little organization where people are scattered at the rate of one or two persons per square mile, as is the case in many of our western counties. In many of our eastern rural sections, on the other hand, rural population densities will run as high as 60 to 120 persons per square mile. The rural community must vary considerably under such different conditions.

Closely associated with density of population is cohesiveness, or the tendency of groups to hang together. "This cohesion will find expression in many ways. The historical development of the area or community may play a big part in determining what groups cling to one another and work for their common interests. Sometimes kindred ties extending over an appreciable territory will help in determining cohesive groups. Sometimes trade relations at a common

center have built up an acquaintanceship and fellow-feeling which can be definitely outlined and followed . . ." ⁵ in community formation and development.

Volume of population.—Closely linked with all the foregoing factors is that of the number of people available for institution organization, and thereby, community formation. Obviously this factor will also be a variable. It certainly implies, however, both upper and lower limits beyond which we cease to have true community functions. A volume of a few hundred people would be insufficient to give rise to community life, and a volume of great numbers would tend to dissipate interests, cloud community objectives, and make unwieldy community organization machinery. In urban community organization better use can be made of a large volume of population, because of urban population density, rapid inter-communication, and the greater mass psychology of city dwellers.

Volume of wealth.—The amount of wealth that may be made available for building community institutions is an important feature not to be lost sight of. Schools, churches, road building, health and sanitation, political institutions, and like factors all demand a sufficient surplusage of the wealth of a people in order to erect and maintain them in a serviceable condition.

In recognizing the importance of volume of wealth in relation to the formation of consolidated school districts, for example, most states require a minimum tax valuation before granting the privilege of consolidation. Usually, however, these valuations are too low, and consolidation is projected upon a larger scale. The median assessed valuation of consolidated school districts in Missouri is \$1,000,000, in Oklahoma \$681,000, and in Nebraska \$892,020.⁶ The requirements

⁵ Hayes, Augustus, W., "Rural Community Organization," p. 96, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1921.

⁶ Abel, James F., "Recent Data on the Consolidation of Schools and Transportation of Pupils," pp. 8-9. *Bulletin*, 1925, No. 22, Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.

for library and hospital service are usually such that only larger or wealthier communities can afford to have these institutions. Institutions of such character often call for intercommunity arrangements, whereby the less fortunate communities may share their services with more fortunate neighboring communities. In this respect, town and country co-operation is a way out, as has been suggested in Chapter XII, or county-seat library extension service, as will be developed in Chapter XVI.

The determination of the optimum quantities in all of the above factors is a matter of no small consequence to success in and the formation of rural communities, and to their subsequent organization and functioning. They require a large amount of careful study and social engineering in each individual case. Only general statements are possible here until we have more data pertaining to the analyses of rural communities.

THE COMMUNITY MOVEMENT AND SEARCH FOR A COMMUNITY UNIT

Historical and early conditions.—The greater portion of the rural population of the United States has had placed before it a problem of community determination which the urban areas have not had. Ineffectiveness in mobilizing their economic and social influences in order to meet modern-day demands has led farmers to a general stock-taking of potentialities along community developmental lines. Except for the village-type of community, early established in New England and transplanted to a limited extent elsewhere, the American farmer has come to find himself today without any well-defined community unit.

In early colonial days, as we have seen in Chapter XI, compact and well nucleated rural communities were developed. Kinsfolk, church congregations, and nationality groups from abroad, often formed major portions of these communities,

which utilized the village, or the somewhat more scattered plantation form of settlement. Not long after obtaining a footing, however, we find many individuals settling outlying areas, breaking away from the compact type, and setting up isolated homesteads in rich valleys and on favorable uplands as far west as the foothills of the Alleghenies. Individual land-grants, pre-emption rights, and a burning desire for a new and larger farm facilitated this movement. The rectangular land survey system established in 1785, and the opening of the Northwest Territory further hastened it. As a consequence, the rural community of old became practically lost to the newly developing agriculture. In this respect, our western-settling farmers broke sharply with the customs of men from the earliest times, for seldom was seen the phenomenon of isolated small family units projected into a strange land, at least, not on such a general scale. How differently our rural life might have developed had the vast domain of America been settled in the old way, it is, indeed, difficult to state.

Figure 14 shows the tendencies of communities to form about town centers. If we presented a map showing the topographical features of the county we would see how the presence or absence of streams, valleys, and hills have helped influence the shapes and sizes of these communities.

With the self-sufficient farm gone, which, with its limited rural neighborhood, carried the farmer through pioneering to commercial agriculture, the American farmer now finds himself faced with the insistent problem of determining upon an effective community unit. That this unit will naturally vary under the diverse conditions of settlement and modes of farming, we have just noted. Our next task is to analyze the movement that has been searching for this rural community unit.

Changing status of the community unit.—Various rural organizations and institutions have been seeking a more work-

able community grouping for their supporting elements. The Grange has generally employed the New England town or the civil township as its local unit for membership operations. The Farm Bureau and Home Bureau have also generally proceeded along these lines where such units were available. In



FIG. 14.—Community and Neighborhood Areas of Otsego County, New York.⁷

many sections of the country, outside of New England, all rural organizations show a desire to find a socially homogeneous unit that will better serve their interests. In areas where the consolidated school is developing, the consolidated

⁷ Sanderson, D., and Thompson, W. S., "The Social Areas of Otsego County," p. 12, *Bulletin 422*, Cornell University, New York, 1923.

school district is being accepted and employed with considerable rapidity. Farmers' institutes, rural social service and health work, and the many activities of other county demonstrators and educators are coming to rest more and more upon the consolidated school district unit wherever that is available. Rural churches are seeking to organize upon a more effective base than the old parish plans with their great overlapping of parish areas and with many areas of unchurched territory. One form of this movement is called, "The Larger Parish Plan."

The one-room school district unit.—This area, which contains about six square miles of territory and 10 to 12 families, has rather consistently been given up as a possible community unit. There is a growing recognition that it is more typical of the neighborhood unit, and that it fails in size, numbers of people, and diversity of interests to meet the needs of a rural community unit. Its taxing power is also too limited to sustain community-sized institutions.

The New England town unit.—It has been stated elsewhere that the New England town is still an important area of rural social organization in many sections of the eastern states. Its area of 30 to 40 square miles, the generally prevailing population densities of these sections, good taxing abilities, village centers, and the more or less socially formed boundaries between towns, all give this unit a significant community importance. Professor E. L. Morgan states:

. . . in Massachusetts the township (town) is the natural local unit. Things are done as a town. It is the form of local government. There are a number of neighborhoods within a township, (town) but in most cases their interests blend into the larger community interest. The person living in the most remote section of the town has as much interest in public affairs and is as much a part of them as those living at the center. This being true, the natural group unit for the larger interests is usually the town.

In this bulletin the terms "community" and "town" are used interchangeably.⁸

There is considerable historical importance relating to the settlement of many of the New England towns which gives an important social advantage. On the whole, they possess good combinations of factors necessary for effective rural community development.

The township of the Middle West and West.—It has been developed elsewhere that the township was originally designed for land survey purposes, and has become accepted as a basis for certain government functions in many middle western and western states. Its usual area of 36 square miles is quite satisfactory from the point of view of extent, wealth, population, and diversity of interests to serve as a community unit, although in some sections of the country it contains hardly enough of these for the greatest efficiency. With the improvements in roads and methods of travel the township of 36 square miles is scarcely large enough where farms average around 200 to 300 acres in size. In some sections where such conditions prevail, rural school consolidations are taking place upon the basis of a 50 or 60 square mile district.

In other cases townships make good community units; especially is this the case where the natural social boundaries coincide with the township boundaries. But as Professor Fairlie has well said:

A village may develop in one corner of a township, and become the local market for two or three adjacent townships, while the distant farmers of its own township trade in the village of another. In other cases, a village may grow up across a township line, and the political line of demarcation must be followed, although there

⁸ Morgan, E. L., "Mobilizing the Rural Community," p. 11, Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station, *Extension Bulletin* No. 23, Amherst, 1918.

is no separation of real interests between those who live on either side.⁹

The arbitrarily formed and straight-sided character of the township prevents its becoming widely used as a rural community unit; it militates against cohesion of groups. In some sections of the prairie states where topographical variations are few and where interest-centers, such as towns, villages, and consolidated schools are quite central to the township area, the township has become a community base. Professor Carlson of North Dakota states:

. . . it is my opinion that the "township" is the unit on which such work must rest. Here in this state there are smaller units than the township and even larger units. . . . Considering the population, the amount of wealth and the ordinary cohesion within townships, together with the fact that the consolidated school is usually in the center on section sixteen, I cannot see how any other unit has more advantages than the township.¹⁰

The consolidated rural school district unit.—The social and economic significance of the consolidated rural school district and of the school itself behooves us to look carefully at this unit as one of great value and of developing importance. The fact that this school and its district take over the one-room school neighborhoods, and any of the associational values that have developed therein, causes the two to fall heir to considerable valuable social property that needs community institutionalization. Consolidated schools grow up out of the desires of the people to have a more effective school unit; clinging to these desires, and closely woven into them, are the needs of a more effective community unit. The fact that states are now recognizing these dual considerations is

⁹ Fairlie, John A., "Local Government in Counties, Towns and Villages," pp. 173-4, The Century Company, New York, 1914.

¹⁰ Quoted in Hayes, Augustus W., "Rural Community Organization," *op. cit.*, p. 84.

shown by the permission granted in some states to allow the newly forming consolidated rural school district to disregard formerly established civil and political boundary lines such as county and township lines. This gives the district great freedom in erecting a modern, up-to-date social and educational unit. School authorities and social leaders need to work in close co-operation in aiding the people in conserving and in developing all the community values that may be gained through rural school consolidation.

Consolidated rural schools and their supporting communities furnish many valuable clues leading to the effective education and mobilization of rural life. These significant facts make definite studies of such communities of considerable sociological value. The demands of a school on the tax paying body for its support and maintenance make of it an outstandingly universal institution among all the others the people support. This at once enables it to hold an advantageous position for the development of social, as well as educational standards, and in helping to train for leadership and citizenship. These, in turn, call for careful planning to the end that the local neighborhood groups constituting a consolidated school district be congenial, cohesive, co-operative, and so located with reference to one another and to their school, as to permit of easy inter-communication. Careful studies of the social values of consolidated schools, and the community significance of their districts, linked with the educational and administrative studies already made, help us the better to appreciate the power and influence these institutions may yield to the whole of rural life interests.

. . . in a large social sense, the construction of consolidated school districts is a matter which involves fundamental factors in rural community organization. For example, group choice, the cohesiveness of groups, volume and density of population, and volume of wealth, are all factors affecting, almost equally alike, the success of rural school consolidation and rural community organization. It is for the greatest immediate and long time interests of rural groups, therefore, that their school consolidation plans be

laid upon sound community organization principles as well as sound educational principles.¹¹

The author in numerous studies of the consolidated rural school district in central and northern states, and in southern and southwestern states, has found great variation in the sizes of the districts. Some variation is to be expected in order to give correspondence to social and topographical features. In the South "numerous instances have shown . . . that around 1000 to 1600 people and above in the open country portion of the consolidated school district, which contains about 40 square miles of land area, gives a desirable volume of population, and sufficient density, under ordinary conditions of settlement on the land"¹² to insure rather well-developed school and community life. In the Southwest and West this area will, very generally, need to be larger because of larger farms, and because of less concentration of wealth and population.

Professor Campbell has stated that "the tendency in Iowa now is to organize consolidated districts of from thirty to fifty square miles. Improvements in transportation through better roads and better motor vehicles make the fifty square mile district more satisfactory as a unit than the smaller ones."¹³

In Randolph County, Indiana, the most successful community consolidated schools have a land area of 30 to 40 square miles and a population density of about 35 people per square mile in the open country portion of the district. In another section we have quoted Professor Carlson as stating that in North Dakota 36 square miles is a good unit for consolidation and community development purposes. This, no

¹¹ Hayes, Augustus W., "The Community Value of the Consolidated Rural School," pp. 42-3, *Research Bulletin No. 2*, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1923.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹³ Hayes, Augustus W., "Rural Community Organization," *op. cit.*, p. 85.

doubt, will prove too small an area in western portions of the state. In Oklahoma, E. A. Duke, rural-school supervisor, has stated that a large number of successful consolidated schools have been developed upon a land area of 36 square miles.

There is every reason to believe that our developments in communication will call for an extension of many of the smaller sized consolidated school districts; this will give them greater potentialities as community units. With consolidated schools forming at the rate of about 1000 a year, we at once see the great values which lie in helping to foster the community or social significance of their districts. Certainly the consolidated rural-school district is a unit of importance in rural community formation. Where town centers are utilized in the development of these units, we usually get the greatest completeness of this type of unit.

The rural church parish unit.—We have so few rural church parishes which furnish the requirements of a rural community, such as cohesion, volume of wealth, population, and like factors, that we are compelled to consider this unit of only limited reach as a possible community organization unit. The great overlapping of church parishes, and the frequent un-churched areas introduce serious handicaps in making the church parish a community unit. The movements toward federation and consolidation of churches, and re-churching the countryside, contain great values along these lines, students of social life need to take an important place in these movements so that community values may be developed and enhanced.

The village and town trade area unit.—The trade area has been rather completely discussed in Chapter XII, and needs little further treatment here. Suffice it to say that this contains the potentialities of one of the most complete community units open to the farmer. It gives a wide range of interests for both town people and country people, and it possesses a

relatively high degree of self-sufficiency. Trade areas of the smaller centers may, within themselves, constitute a single community, while the trade area of larger centers may hold several communities which entertain co-operative or federated interests at the town center. The movement towards better town and country relations and towards the possible re-distribution of town centers, as mentioned in the foregoing chapter, will greatly enhance the trade area unit for rural community development.

We have just seen in the foregoing discussions that there is not a universal type of rural community in America, but that there are a number of units capable of use and extension. We learn also that the farmer is seeking to find a local area upon which he can mobilize and organize his interests and thereby more effectively handle both his local and extra-local modern needs and demands. Much thought, planning, and leadership are required in bringing out the ultimate values that will most benefit the farmer and society in this movement. It offers an open challenge to all students of society.

ORGANIZATIONS OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY

In Chapter X we reviewed many of the organizations operating in rural society. Here we observed a vast array of groupings about certain central objectives. Probably six broad objectives stand out more plainly than others and embrace most of the organizational activities of country people. These are: social, educational, religious, business, governmental, and recreational. Within these every member of the community may be reached in some way or another, and his participation in community development may be encouraged. The names of these objectives assist in defining their purposes; these are specialized purposes, and no one of them is inclusive of all objectives in the community. In developing community consciousness and in organizing community life,

some organizations and institutions have the advantage over others because of their wider reach. Thus we shall find the school or the Farm Bureau, perhaps the Grange, or an association of commerce, exercising both their own specialized functions and functions of community organization. In rural communities of limited means, with limited numbers of organizations and weak organizational abilities, this is a desirable method of bringing about their development, providing the proper objectiveness and community-wide consciousness are exhibited by the specialized group. It not infrequently happens that such groups selfishly come to consider themselves as the sole arbiters of the community's interests, and narrowly interpret and direct the affairs which lie outside their special field.

The conflict between special interests, as represented by specialized groups, and the democratic process, as represented by the community's interests, has to be seriously considered, socialized, and given direction. As E. C. Lindeman states:

Community organization exists wherever Democracy and Specialism are approximating working relationships. It may not be possible to diagram this relationship—for it may be nothing more than an element of good-will—but it is nevertheless a phase of community organization which presages some later form of mechanics of organization.¹⁴

That this mechanical arrangement will take different form under different conditions there can be little doubt. Mr. Lindeman further states:

Social engineering, as it evolves toward the stage of art, will be more closely akin to the art of the poet rather than to that of the draughtsman or the painter. It will be an expression of spirit and of function, rather than of structure.¹⁵

¹⁴ Lindeman, E. C., "The Community," p. 140, Association Press, New York, 1921.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Further specialisms playing a large part in rural society, as we have noted elsewhere, are: lodges, churches, various kinds of social clubs and organizations, fairs, boys' and girls' project clubs, breeders' associations, co-operative-marketing organizations, cow-testing organizations, threshing rings, missionary societies, and many others. All of these may be effectively grouped under the six general headings given above and thereby may be better mobilized for community organization purposes.

PRINCIPLES OF RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

With rather definite ideas of the metes and bounds of the community in mind, with its composition, character, history, and social temperament made known, and with a critical understanding of its organizations in hand, steps towards bringing it into a unified, functioning whole may be taken. Local initiative and local judgment need freedom to work themselves out to definite plans and policies. Certainly it is plain that no one scheme will fit all communities alike. If there are specialized groups already carrying a large quota of community activities, as will be found the case in many rural sections, the problem becomes one of building out from the start already made. If the community is underorganized, generally the first step is to encourage and foster specialized organizations. People who have little or no organization consciousness work poorly in community organization.

First Principle—*The Formation of a Representative Community-wide Group:* This usually takes the name of community council, and will contain selected representatives from existing organizations and from the community at large, regardless of organization affiliation.

The purpose of this council is primarily to set up the ideals and standards for the community; to give voice to its aims; to define all of these in such a way that all forces, both

organized and unorganized, will be able to develop constructive relationships one with the other for both their own welfare and that of the community.

The community council will elect from its body the regular administrative officers for the purpose of better performing its work; it will also divide itself into groups or committees to represent the main interests of the community. Some of these will be as follows: health, business relations, education, recreation, community planning, government, transportation and communication, religion, and morals.

The councilors will be elected for a term of years, with only a certain percentage going out of office each year; this will give greater continuity to the work of the council. Usually an annual community mass meeting, similar in nature to the New England town meeting, will be the best procedure for keeping up the interest of the people of the community, for the election of officers, hearing of reports of committees, and voicing suggestions or disapprovals.

Second Principle—*Co-ordination*: This activity will seek to bring about unity of action through the community; it will constitute an integrating process in which the existing organizations and the unorganized forces will accept a part hitherto new to them. It may mean yielding up certain interests, in some cases, and taking on others, in other cases. The principle of balance will be employed and a proper division of labor arranged between groups and individuals.

Third Principle—*Developmental*: Growth, service, and development are to be fostered. The organizations within the community may need encouragement and aid at times in order to meet fully the needs they are depended upon to supply. Public and private enterprises of good aims and purposes often need assistance from the community; all of these factors become a means of helping one's self through helping another. Developing the resources of the community and of the people go hand in hand.

The writer was present one evening at a community meeting in a consolidated rural school in northern Alabama when committees were formed to get in touch with prospective, desirable land-seekers and settlers in the central states. The sentiment of the community representatives was that they could not afford to have their vacant farm lands continue idle, and that they had so much at stake concerning the type of citizens who might buy them, that they felt it to be to their greatest common interest to advertise them and to direct their settlement themselves.¹⁶

Fourth Principle—Providing a Community Headquarters: The community must have a center, a place where groups, individuals, and agencies both inside and outside the community may come together for exchange of ideas and plans. A commodious building in a central location is becoming quite common in some sections. Consolidated school buildings, built with a view to adult service, have proved valuable for community center purposes and have reduced the expense needed to build and maintain a separate building. At the center, rooms need to be provided for committee meetings and officers' meetings; and an auditorium is needed for general community-wide events.

Fifth Principle—Education and Enlightenment: A program is needed which looks to keeping the community informed on its own status and developments, and on the broad objectives of social life as they are being revealed from time to time in other sections of the country. Individuals and organizations become absorbed in their own interests, and it is easy for them to lose the viewpoints and miss the accomplishments of others. Community co-operation proceeds best out of an enlightened and quickened social consciousness. An organ, like some of the better weekly newspapers or farm bureau news sheets, often renders a highly valuable service for community organization plans in this field of education

¹⁶ Hayes, Augustus W., "Community Value of the Consolidated Rural School," *op. cit.*, pp. 21-2.

and enlightenment. Large and well-organized communities have resorted to the use of their own official publications. A regular educational program of community-wide meetings is also most effective in helping to keep the community informed.

Sixth Principle—*Stimulation of Leadership*: A community cannot function without leaders. Rotation of community service duties should be a part of the policy of the community in order to help discover and develop leadership. Community contests, fetes, production enterprises, the development of pageantry, and various forms of recreation are features which serve for education, entertainment, and the development of leaders for different capacities. Rewarding leaders is also as essential as the discovery of leaders. The community is the chief type of institution to take a strong hand in the development of both of these.

SUMMARY

By way of a brief summary emphasis may be placed upon two main points contained in this chapter.

First, the time is well at hand when the rural community needs to be considered analytically, and when the meaning of the term "community" needs to be stabilized. Loose and indiscriminate designations of all kinds of groupings as communities only serve to confuse meanings and purposes. We have seen that communities vary in a number of ways, but that they all conform in certain details to rather definite criteria much the same as do other institutions. We are now at the point in community development of aiding rural populations in finding and applying these definite criteria.

Second, the organization of the community must proceed from well-laid plans and through processes which enlighten and enlist the residents of the community. There must be a recognized need for organization, and there must be a continuing program of education and leadership.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RURAL FAMILY AND HOME

The significance and importance of the family.—The family is the outstanding socio-biological unit in human society. We have a fundamental interest in its welfare because of its basic position to everything in social life. Sociologically, the family is a conservator of our social customs, traditions, and *mores*; biologically, it is the conservator of the human stock—the fountain-head of the race. Normal relations and understandings between the sexes have their best chances for development in the monogamic family of today, because of the equal opportunity of the sexes and the prevailing co-operative structure of such a family. Parents are more completely socialized by their children, and the children are gradually inculcated into society by their parents. Around the hearth in the home is the best place to learn the common and customary things of life; here all sorts of queries may arise and be met with openness and frankness. The attributes of personality and of character are learned in the family circle, and are tried out many times on the respective members of the family; to the extent that the family heads adhere to the virtues involved, to that extent will the children grow up possessed of them. The family implants the ideals and develops the manners and general responses of the individual. Such social graces as modesty, tolerance, forbearance, and magnanimity are best learned in the family circle. Industry, thrift, perseverance, and application receive their foundations in the family life and duties.

Truly the family and home are the “cradle of civilization.”

They are so precious to human society that we have thrown greater and greater safeguards about them. Chastity is protected for the safety of the family; parents are customarily and legally bound to provide and care for their children, and to be responsible for their acts; divorce, desertion, and separation are deplored largely because of the dangers they hold for children. Society is exhorting individuals to consider marriage and home-making in all seriousness because of the responsibilities it expects the home and family to assume. Professor Tufts says:

The family has two functions; as a smaller group it affords opportunity for eliciting qualities of affection and character which cannot be displayed in a larger group; and in the second place, it is a training for future members of the larger group in the qualities of disposition and character which are essential to citizenship. Marriage converts an attachment between man and woman into a deliberate, permanent, responsible, intimate union for a common end of mutual good. Modern society requires that the husband and wife contemplate lifelong companionship, and the affection between husband and wife is enriched by the relation of parents to the children which are their care. The end of the family is not economic profit but mutual aid and the continuance and progress of the race.¹

The socio-biological dualism of the family gives it a tremendous sweep in human society. We can scarcely overestimate the significance of this compound relationship. To be socially efficient and successful the family must have good biological endowments; this relates to the many factors of heredity. The family is society's institution for the preservation of the race; therefore human biological phenomena, such as inheritable defects, weaknesses, and predispositions, must receive careful study and consideration in family building. That sufficient emphasis has not been given these factors is

¹ Quoted from Spencer, A. G., "The Family and Its Members," p. 19, Lippincott and Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1923.

becoming more evident as we extend our studies of causes of social pathology.

Historical precedents of the rural family.—We have seen in former chapters that customs and traditions linger longer in rural society than elsewhere; such we observe in regard to family structure and family life. The rural family of today exhibits some striking resemblances to the old patriarchal order. In colonial America, and during later settlement days, many of these features served all of the institutions of society well in that they made of the family a strongly self-caring institution. Large families with strong parental control are economic assets under such circumstances.

In appraising the services of the patriarchal family to civilization, Dr. Willystine Goodsell states, "In the first place the family was a strong, well-knit, orderly institution that endured through centuries of strife and warfare, serving as a model of peace and order in times of social upheaval."² It helped to define the duties of each member of the family and acted as a real nursery for the rearing of the children.

The "father-head" idea has remained strongly emphasized in rural families. The father usually expects the services of his sons and daughters on the farm and in the home until they have reached their majority. It is generally he who alone owns the property with which the family works; he orders the tasks, pays the bills, and is the chief dispenser of authority. The frequent habit of sons and daughters, aunts and uncles settling near the old homestead, on adjoining lands, is little more than a modification of the old type of enlarged family. The attitudes of service, loyalty, and fatherhood protection have rootings in the older order. We see also in the farm family well-defined culture-patterns which yield slowly to change. The farm family is an automatically operating institution which feels little need of the legal instrumentalities

² Goodsell, W., "Problems of the Family," p. 43, The Century Company, New York, 1928.

of present-day society which enforce family responsibilities. The success of the family is seen growing out of its unity and personal interaction. All members have their respective duties and learn to recognize that only by adhering to these roles does the needful unity develop.

The rural family as a social unit.—In the country the home is the center of the life of the farm. It is the clearing-house of the farm business, and the social center for the family. Within these two functions of the farm home lie both weakness and strength—weakness in that business may crowd out or absorb necessary social life, and strength in that greater unity, power, and influence are given to this great social institution.

In general, we may say that a family is a unity of interacting personalities. The farm family furnishes much opportunity for this play of characters one upon the other. Here more than in almost any other type of family life, the members are thrown more continuously and regularly together in recreation and in labor. In these days of disturbing family dispersal problems this one item of family solidarity makes the farm family one of our most significant social institutions. Rural parents find places for their children in the economic life of the home and business; this gives the children an opportunity to develop the sense of duty and responsibility. There are always chances for grading these responsibilities as the child grows, so he may experience the exhilaration of his enlarging powers. This growth, taking place under the guidance and direction of the ones who love him most and have the greatest concern for his welfare (parents, brothers, and sisters), gives the child an opportunity to absorb great spiritual and moral values from his tasks.

On the other hand,

If the rural family is narrow and restricted in ideas and ideals, if it is mercenary, if it lacks art and recreation, if it lacks beauty,

education, religion, income, sanitation, conveniences, or any other of the facilities for physical, mental, or cultural life and development, rural life will be handicapped even more than would urban life if these things were lacking in city homes. For in city life, many other agencies and institutions have come to substitute for the home and family in furnishing these things.³

With the things in the home which Professor Taylor mentions, the rural family has the potentialities of tremendous human value. Good farmers are seeing to it that the farm home lives up to its possibilities; a more universal spread of their ideals will enlarge the spread of rural life influence.

The rural family as an economic unit.—It is obvious that the rural family is closely linked to the economic life of the farm. There are tasks for all members, and their contributions are of no small significance. There are grave dangers, however, in such an organization as the farm presents, for often younger members of the family and the women over-work. Within proper limits the economic unity of the farm family is most desirable. Many city families yearn for some of the opportunities of healthful, purposeful, personally supervised employment for their children that are the heritage of the farmer. To use wisely and not to abuse these valuable adjunets to his business is the challenge every farmer should accept.

In contrast to the economic and social unity of the farm family, we note the following concerning tendencies in urban centers:

Today almost fifty per cent of our population live in places of eight thousand or more population, and the percentage is steadily increasing. This urbanization has resulted in what might be called, "the hotel home." The father is away on business, the mother is at work or engaged among her many outside interests, and the

³ Taylor, C. C., "Rural Sociology," p. 188, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1926.

children are at school, the club, the dance, or the "movies." The "common" meals are common no longer; breakfast comes for each one when he is ready, and luncheon is found elsewhere. Even summer vacation, if there is one, finds the family separated. The summer camp or summer work takes some of the children, while the parents may go away for a "change of scenery." The result is that there is a growing independence on the part of the youth of America and an absence of control, with a resulting "letting down of the bars" regarding standards which once were deemed indispensable.⁴

Whether we accept the above as a prevailing tendency in urban life is immaterial to this discussion; it serves to bring out the relative disadvantage at which the urban family is placed in endeavoring to keep unity in the family.

Family types and patterns.—In any analysis of the family it is helpful to isolate types and patterns in order that a better understanding may be had of functions and tendencies. There has been little direct study made of family types and patterns, however, even among urban families, so that much we shall state on these subjects must be general and largely suggestive of needed developments.

Three possible family types: We seem able to distinguish three rather definitely marked family types in rural life in America:

1. The *modern patriarchal family* which is found chiefly among the immigrant groups from central and southwestern Europe. In this type many of the ideals of the old patriarchal order prevail. The tendencies of immigrant parents to adhere to the old ways and of their children to adopt the greater freedom of American life often leads to many perplexing family problems among these people.

2. The *semi-patriarchal family*. Most of our rural families undoubtedly fall within a type which, for want of a better name, we call the semi-patriarchal form. It has been described

⁴ Davis, Jerome, et al., "An Introduction to Sociology," p. 717, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, 1927.

in a former paragraph and will not be elaborated upon here.

3. The *emancipated family*. This third type seems to be developing in rural areas. Within it old usages and practices are often cast aside with impunity. There exists in this type of family a strong tendency to question and challenge many of the family customs of the past. The emancipated family has received some, but not all, of its ideals from urban sources. Usually there is less family unity and less attachment to home and farm shown in this type of family than are shown in either of the other two types. No doubt, commercializing agriculture has fostered the development of the emancipated rural family.

Family patterns: Under patterns we find several important family features prevailing.

1. In the rural family children have a large place. Childless farm families are considerably rarer than are childless urban families. We can well say that the rural family pattern includes children—fewer now than used to be the case, but more, on the average, than are found in urban family patterns.

2. Rural family patterns usually contain definite plans as to the roles of mother, father, and children. There is little intention of side-stepping these roles, or of hiring out responsibilities on the part of the parents.

3. The rural family usually is an integrated and closely knit family. The social and economic unities of the family, together with the environmental conditions, help to bring about close relationships between the members. Discipline within the family is not necessarily rigorous, but it usually is firm, and there are few chances of escaping it.

4. The rural family patterns are built upon dominant family objectives. The family is called into existence for definite social, economic, and spiritual objectives; and it seeks to fulfill these as a unity.

The conservative nature of the farm family.—The farm family has clung tenaciously to its social possessions. In fact, there is some evidence for the complaint that it has remained too resistant to change to keep abreast of desirable modern trends. Family life generally is considered a private affair; on the farm this attitude is deeply entrenched. As a consequence, there are relatively few chances for the family to see itself in perspective relations and to be led into desirable changes, which almost every other institution in society assumes or has thrust upon it through the forces of competition. The findings of science in the fields of child care and rearing have scarcely made a dent in the old methods of child rearing; luckily for the farm child, his environment usually has been a source of help. In matters of education, woman's work and home conveniences, home sanitation, and many other allied factors, the family has been slow to make new and better adjustments. Often considerable clannishness exists among farm families. This grows out of a self-complacency and an introspection which lacks the larger and stimulating contacts in society. Too great a conservative attitude prevents the farm family from making full use of its native opportunities.

The farm boy and girl.—There are great possibilities for rich and varied youthful experiences on the farm, if proper opportunities are given. Professor Taylor states:

Child life on the farm varies all the way from wholesomeness, buoyancy, and abundant happiness to dreary stultification.⁵

Children naturally love objects of nature, and they seem especially fond of animal pets. Through the care and attention given their pets they may be taught to develop thoughtfulness and dependability. A similar influence operated upon early man through the domestication of animals. In fact, a

⁵ Taylor, C. C., *op. cit.*, p. 195.

humanizing result seems to flow from the dependence of dumb brutes upon the individual. The farm child early learns the joy of ownership which comes with the possession of useful objects. He early learns the art of mastery through control over his brute dependents and through carrying to completion in many ways his own ideas. Curtis has said:

The care of animals has almost the same effect as though the child were caring for a dependent human being. All children love to feed pigs and chickens and gather the eggs and do other similar tasks; the care of an animal is an ideal type of duty to develop a sense of responsibility and reliability.⁶

Moral and educational aids: The rural child may learn in a most natural way the relations between the common phenomena about him. An abundance of material is available, and careful parental instruction is all that is necessary to obtain the desired personal values. The mysteries of sex life may easily be unfolded by examples of plant and animal forms with which the child daily associates. If proper care and attention are given by the parent to this important interest of the child, the latter will be saved the shocks attendant upon hearing the facts clandestinely. The relations between cause and effect can be well illustrated in the round of processes on the farm. The spring rains help to develop the grass and flowers; plowing helps to prepare the soil for crops; cultivations facilitate the growth to harvest. The child can be encouraged to think through complex processes all around him and to connect the correlating factors and get the significance of the whole. These very advantages are being highly prized for urban children in modern methods of child rearing and training. Gruenberg says that

The most hopeful and the most extensive effort to make possible for the children a closer familiarity with natural phenomena

⁶ Curtis, H. S., "Education through Play," p. 289, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922.

is seen in the rapid development of summer camps and in the formation of Scout Troops, Camp Fire groups, Pioneer Youth, and similar organizations of young people with definite programs of activity that take cognizance of the outdoors and its inhabitants.⁷

The country boy and girl have advantages of this sort about them all the time without the mechanical elements of an organization. Many of them, however, do not receive the aid and guidance they need to make the potentialities of their environments as fruitful as they might be.

Mr. Truesdell, of the United States Census Bureau, in developing the opportunities open to the rural child states:

The farm not only supplies a part of the living for the family, but also—and this is probably even more important—it supplies the means and the space for wholesome occupation and wholesome recreation for the children. In the city, by contrast, there is hardly any readily available occupation for the child who is not working regularly for wages, and little recreation to be had without paying for it.⁸

Child labor problems.—That there are abuses of a system that so freely offers child employment opportunities almost goes without stating. The pinch of poverty is felt in rural districts as well as elsewhere; widowed mothers with dependent children, grasping fathers, and other factors, which lead to unfavorable child labor conditions, are found on farms. Often, however, the attitude of parents toward child labor is the least excusable of all.

There are farmers who look upon labor as the most desirable way for boys and girls to use their time; recreation and schooling are luxuries, they think. This kind of opinion indicates a provincialism harking back to pioneer times when

⁷ Gruenberg, Benj. C., "Guidance of Childhood and Youth," pp. 158-9, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926.

⁸ *Census Monograph VI*, p. 77, Farm Population of the United States, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., 1920.

all hands had to be working most of the time in order to win a farm from the forest or prairie. Under such attitudes compulsory school attendance becomes difficult, and children have small chance to rise above the conditions about them. Often associated with the above points of view of parents—although not always—is the felt need of the labor of children on the farm in order to help sustain the family and defray their own costs.

It has been estimated that something over 650,000 children under 10 years of age work on farms. The extent to which their work is harmful in producing bad physical development, lack of school advantages, and lack of wholesome home influences is not known, but at such tender years there is considerable to be conjectured concerning these factors.

Some child labor studies.—1. *Truck Farms:* Many good studies have been made of different sections of the United States to determine the amount of child labor on farms, and its results. The United States Children's Bureau, in reporting on a study of 501 children of a truck farming region near Chicago, states:

The principal season during which children are employed on the truck farms corresponds closely to the three months of the summer vacation, although there is some employment throughout the year. The work is irregular, but it totalled several months of employment a year for a majority of the children interviewed. The children weed and harvest a large variety of crops. Weeding various crops, twisting onions, cutting asparagus, pulling beets and carrots, and picking beans are the principal kinds of work, and none of it appears to be particularly arduous except when continued for long hours. It was found that 196 children had worked more than 8 hours on the working day which they reported as typical, and 104 had worked 10 hours or more. . . .

The problem of child labor on truck farms near Chicago is the problem of the child working away from home at an early age, working long hours, going long distances over complicated routes

at hours too early in the morning and too late in the evening, to places of employment unknown to his parents, and, in some sections, with no certainty of finding work after the effort has been made.⁹

2. *Special-crop farms:* Some notorious abuses of child labor in specialized farming regions have been shown by similar studies by various organizations. The sugar-beet region in Michigan and Colorado; small-fruit regions, and cotton-growing sections have all shown numerous instances of children working too long hours, at tasks too heavy for them, and often under exposure to a blistering sun, or in wet soil, living in temporary, insanitary quarters, and under other retarding and unhealthful conditions.

3. *General farms:* The conditions of child labor in general farming regions is of interest because of the large amount of territory covered by such regions. The Children's Bureau reports on a study made in several counties in Illinois, where good and poor farming conditions were available. Here it was brought out that in the less prosperous farming sections the proportions of both boys and girls working on farms were higher than in the more prosperous farming sections. The Bureau states:

Of 1672 children under 16 years of age attending rural schools in the selected districts or living in the districts and not attending school, 737 children (67 per cent of the boys and 18 per cent of the girls) worked in the fields. More than three-fifths (62 per cent) were 12 years of age or older; about one-seventh (14 per cent) were under 10 years of age. Almost all the children who worked on the farms in this section lived on farms in the vicinity, their parents being farm owners or tenants. Most of the children included in the study were of native American parentage. Some worked on only the home farm, but many helped neighboring

⁹ United States Department of Labor, *Children's Bureau Publication No. 168, Work of Children on Illinois Farms*, pp. 30-31, Washington, D. C., 1926.

farmers as well, seldom receiving any payment in cash but doing the work in exchange for similar service rendered to their parents.

Compared with truck, cotton, or tobacco farms, with beet or onion culture, or with hop growing the general farm offers comparatively little work within the strength of girls or young children. The girls and the children under 12 years of age included in the study usually did the easier kinds of work, such as hoeing, cultivating, raking hay, and husking corn, but many of them harrowed, which is hard work, though not heavy in the sense that it requires great physical strength. Some of the boys 12 years of age and over did a great deal of field work, some of it involving the use of heavy machinery and necessitating the handling of heavy teams of horses. The majority of the children worked in the fields less than two months, but about one-sixth worked at least three months during the farm season.

The working day was usually long for the younger as well as the older children. It was seldom less than 8 hours and more often was 9 or 10 hours. . . .

Farm work does not interfere with the school attendance of children in this section to the same extent as in most rural communities surveyed by the Children's Bureau, though some children lose a considerable part of their schooling on account of their work. Almost one-half of the workers for whom school records were obtained and who reported the reasons for their absences had been absent from school for farm work during the year preceding the inquiry. Usually this absence was for less than 10 days, but 71 children had lost from 1 to 5 months of school attendance because of their farm work. Much of this absence for farm work comes at the beginning or at the close of the school year, when it is likely to be particularly disastrous to the child's progress in school. Absence for farm work was more frequent in Marion County and in Shelby County than in Livingston County. In Livingston County, the most prosperous of the three counties, the children do not help much with the spring work, which probably more than any other interferes with school attendance in the other two counties. They do lighter work and lose considerably less time than children in either Shelby or Marion County.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 47-8.

The dwarfing, retarding, and generally harmful effects of labor of children beyond their natural and normally developing capacities are too obvious to require further treatment. Certainly many farm families are open to considerable criticism along these lines. Better knowledge of child rearing is needed to enable many of them to capitalize more fully upon their valuable environmental assets.

The farm woman.—The farm women of America are probably the most active women in our national life. Few of their many duties inside or outside the home have been farmed out; they constantly stand at the helm, taking a hand here and there in a great multiplicity of tasks and activities. Theirs is a key problem in our rural life, and as Dr. Butterfield says:

Woman's place in farm life is the severest test that agriculture has to face. If farm life cannot give the farm woman opportunity for real growth, for something besides mere drudgery, our rural civilization cannot go on.¹¹

Studies of farm women's labor: A survey made some years ago in a western state showed that if a farmer of that state should pay his wife at the rate of only ordinary wages for her services in the numerous capacities she filled, such as cook, housekeeper, seamstress, laundress, nurse, poultry-raiser, business confidant, teacher, and the like, she would be entitled to a salary of over \$4000 a year.

It is quite a general fact that farm women have to work too hard, and are loaded with too many tasks outside the home itself; they do not have enough labor-saving devices to help lighten their labors within the home, for which it is difficult to procure hired assistance. A survey of three rural townships in Iowa brings out the following facts concerning some of the work of farm women of that section:

¹¹ *Proceedings, Sixth National Country Life Conference, 1923, p. 6,*
University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

Ninety and five-tenths per cent of the farm women cared for poultry, 85.4 per cent cared for gardens, 48.8 per cent did the milking, and 17.5 per cent did field work. On the average, about 1 per cent of the homes had hired help throughout the year, and from 9 to 10 per cent had help about four weeks in the year.¹²

In South Dakota, the State College of Agriculture "estimated that the average working day for farm women in that state was 15 hours in summer and 12 hours in winter."¹³

A more comprehensive survey was made in 1919 by the United States Department of Agriculture embracing 10,000 farm homes and extending into twenty-three northern and western states. In this study it was found that 25 per cent of the farm women helped with the live-stock, 24 per cent worked in the fields, 56 per cent took care of the gardens, 36 per cent did the milking, and only 14 per cent had hired help, most of which was for about four months of the year.

No doubt there are circumstances under which women may and do work about at light tasks on the farm, and this to their own health and satisfaction. Some girls and women like outdoor life better than household duties, and the farm affords them ample opportunities to satisfy these desires. The mere fact that farm women perform tasks outside the home is not the serious question. It is the fact that they have such outside duties in addition to a full quota of household tasks for which they do not have the aid of conveniences or other help. That conveniences are coming into the farm home we shall see in a later section.

The farm woman's idealism: The farm woman has close at heart the welfare of her family; she is usually a home-loving individual in whom the unity of the family has become highly centralized. Her first and last thoughts are of her family. Mary Meek Atkeson states:

¹² Gillette, J. M., "Rural Sociology," p. 373, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922.

¹³ *Ibid.*

In social affairs, the country woman thinks chiefly of the needs of her children. Whenever she has felt she could gain for her family a mental or spiritual food which the home could not well provide, she has been absolutely untiring and undiscouraged in her labors to secure it for her family. To her determined leadership is due the existence of almost every rural church in America. And social organizations, like the Grange, have survived when so many economic organizations have failed, because the woman on the farm saw in them something her family needed, and she clung to them with a grip of steel. The story is told of one courageous Ohio woman who, when everyone else in the community gave up the local Grange, went each month to the meeting-place, called the roll of the absent members, wrote up the reports, paid the dues from her butter and egg money, and kept on for months until the other members, perhaps ashamed of themselves when they saw her devotion to the cause, began to drift back.¹⁴

Such are the qualities that are winning the struggles for a fairer share of the division of modern-day opportunities open to women on the farm. The conditions for farm women are improving throughout the country. E. R. Eastman asks and answers a question pertinent to these conclusions. He says, "Is the farm woman any better off now than twenty-five years ago? From every standpoint the answer is emphatically 'yes'."¹⁵

The farm home and its arrangements.—1. Variations in farm homes: The farm houses of America show every range, degree, and variation in housing schemes. They vary all the way from the half-dug-outs of the western prairies, through the tar paper shacks, log houses of timber lands, and one-room cottages, to New England statelies and mansions of the Kentucky blue-grass regions and plantations of the South. To say what is typical of farm houses in America is, indeed,

¹⁴ Atkeson, Mary Meek, "The Woman on the Farm," pp. 262-3, The Century Company, New York, 1924.

¹⁵ Eastman, E. R., "These Changing Times," p. 214, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927.

a difficult task. In the main, however, one can say that most of them lack the conveniences of modern homes. Many contain too much room and floor space or not enough; also, in many instances sufficient care and attention have not been given to their proper setting and artistic blending with the local landscape surroundings, many have located about them an indiscriminate clutter of farm buildings, pens, lots, and unsightly objects; insanitary conditions, which might easily have been avoided, have thus come to prevail about far too many farm homes.

Professor Taylor in reporting on a study he made, states:

In a survey of 306 families in a well-to-do rural Missouri community, the writer found that the average age of the farm house was over twenty years. . . . These houses are not equipped for the installation of the modern conveniences, and this fact is, in a small way, responsible for their absence. From a study of 1014 typical farm families in North Carolina, facts were discovered which led to a calculation that 6000 farm families in this one state are living in one-room houses, and 42,000 rural families are living in two-room houses.¹⁶

2. Farm home plans: Definite plans for rural houses have been developed in many states within recent years. This has centered thought and attention upon rural architecture to such an extent that courses of study in such have been introduced into agricultural college curricula. Farmers, in the absence of such plans, have often copied urban house plans for their new country homes. The unfortunate result of this was usually a tall, narrow house with formal entrances, small porches, and a total lack of harmony with the setting in the open country. In this connection, a Wisconsin Experiment Station Bulletin states:

The modern farm home should be carefully planned and adapted to the needs of the family. A city house plan is often unsuited to

¹⁶ Taylor, C. C., *op. cit.*, p. 200.

a rural home because of certain differences between farm and city life. Housing farm workers, for instance, and the need for carrying on farm enterprises within the home make some arrangements essential in the farm house that would be unnecessary in the city.¹⁷

An office for the farmer; storage space in the basement for fruits and vegetables, for heating, lighting and power equipment; room for hired help; sufficient room space for home entertainment—all are factors needing a different consideration in rural homes from that ordinarily given to urban homes. Enough space to provide about a room and a half for each member of the family is required by the best housing standards.

3. *Farm home ownership:* The relative permanence of the farm home indicates that considerable attachment centers about the homestead. This can be made a greater socializing force through keeping the house abreast of the times. The 1920 census shows 27.5 per cent of the rural families living in owned homes as contrasted with 19.8 per cent of the urban families living in owned homes. In the city 62.6 per cent of the homes are rented, whereas in the country 45.1 per cent are rented. The power and interest produced by ownership is in favor of the rural home; it may be used to advantage in anchoring the family to friends, institutions, and community by a greater consideration of the home environment and appurtenances.

4. *Modernization of the farm home:* The 1920 census shows that 38.7 per cent of the farm homes of America have telephones, 10 per cent have water piped into the house, 7 per cent have gas or electric lights, and 30.7 per cent have automobiles. At a high point in these developments are to be found many progressive farm communities; one in particular is that of the Orange Consolidated School District Community of Blackhawk County, Iowa. For this area, in

¹⁷ Wisconsin Experiment Station *Bulletin* 353, p. 3, January, 1923, The University of Wisconsin, Madison.

1920, the following percentage ratings have been given, for the farm homes: telephone 93.9, water piped into the house 44.7, gas or electric light 52.2, and automobile 93.9.¹⁸

Von Tungeln and Eells, in reporting further on the Orange Consolidated School District Community, give us the significant table printed on the next page, showing the development of farm home conveniences over a period of five years.

We observe by this table that considerable progress is being made in some sections of the country relative to providing the best of living conditions for the farm family. There are many agencies assisting in this movement, not the least among which are the larger social outlook the farm family is gaining through reading, travel and observation, and the teachings of the farm and home demonstration agents, backed up by the agricultural colleges, the experiment stations, and the United States Department of Agriculture.

Further details relating to farm housing conditions and sanitation will be discussed in Chapter XIX. The chapters on "Rural Art and Recreation" and on "Rural Standards of Life" contain material adding further to rural family conditions.

SUMMARY

From both the social and economic points of view the family and home are key institutions in country life. There are many factors contributing to this position. The heritages of patriarchal family customs and traditions have had better opportunity for perpetuation under rural conditions than under urban. The isolation of the rural home and its close relation to the farm business also emphasize social and economic aspects of home and family. Under these conditions home and family

¹⁸ Von Tungeln, Geo. H., and Eells, Harry L., "Rural Social Survey of Hudson, Orange and Jesup Consolidated School Districts, Blackhawk and Buchanan Counties, Iowa," p. 251, Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 224, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, 1924.

meet few competing agencies and naturally come to occupy a large place in the lives of rural residents.

TABLE 19

PER CENT OF FARM HOMES HAVING MODERN CONVENiences IN ORANGE CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL DISTRICT, BLACKHAWK COUNTY, IOWA¹⁹

	1915-1916		1920-1921	
	All Homes (142)	Tenants (56)	All Homes (132)	Tenants (55)
Average size of homes in rooms . . .	8.6	8.5	9.0	9.0
Running water	40.1	20.0	44.7	27.2
Bath tubs	33.1	14.3	42.4	21.8
Indoor toilet	24.0	7.1	40.2	21.8
Electric lights	11.3	7.1	29.5	21.8
Gas lights	33.1	21.6	22.7	18.2
Power washer	47.9	28.6	62.9	45.4
Electric or gas iron	25.4	14.3	44.7	32.7
Carpet sweeper	53.4	37.5	34.8	29.1
Vacuum cleaner *			27.3	14.5
Furnace, hot water or steam heat . . .	50.7	37.5	81.8	54.5
Telephone	92.9	98.2	96.9	89.1
Refrigerator	38.7	21.6	43.2	21.8
Gas cook stove	20.4	7.1	12.9	3.6
Oil cook stove	33.1	26.8	61.4	54.5
Sleeping porch †	31.7	8.9	22.7	5.3
Piano	56.3‡	35.7	51.5	40.0

* Carpet sweepers and vacuum cleaners were listed together under carpet sweepers in 1915-1916.

† In the 1915-1916 figures, ordinary porches were included which were used all or a part of the year as sleeping porches. In the 1920-1921 figures, only regular sleeping porches have been included.

‡ Organs were included here in 1915-1916 while only pianos were listed above in 1920-1921.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 251.

We see changes coming into the rural family. There is less of the patriarchal character exhibited now than formerly. The American standard family has been adjusted to rural conditions and the country still presents the easier problem for the family, but urban influence is acting upon family experience as it is upon other rural behavior. Fewer children in the home, more labor-saving machines on the farm, more means of communication with the city have all helped to weaken the strong unity of the old type of rural family and have allowed the transplantation of many urban ideals.

The amount of harmful child labor on farms is not known. Surveys have shown it more prevalent in special-farming areas and in regions of poor soils than elsewhere. The spread of scientific information on child care and development is keenly needed in rural districts. This is getting a start through school clinics, public health nurses, lectures, bulletins and other periodical literature. Much remains yet to be done along these lines.

The farm woman's lot is growing easier, although great developments are still needed in the way of more household conveniences, better home sanitation and beautification, fewer out-of-the-home duties, and more time for reading and recreation.

CHAPTER XV

RURAL EDUCATION (Rural Schools)

Social significance of education.—The learning process and social life are so closely entwined that it is well nigh impossible to make any sharp distinction in a treatment of the institutions and organizations basic to either. The emphasis in this chapter will be upon the social significance of educational institutions, organizations, and agencies in rural life. Much the same kind of relation is found to exist here as was developed in Chapter V relating to economic factors. Rural educational plans must share largely in social organization schemes. Further, farmer's educational institutions assume a dual relation because of the need of economizing on institutions; the relatively dispersed nature of the rural population requires institutions broad in their reaches and multiple in their contacts. Rural education, therefore, has for its problem the task of making the farmer a well-informed citizen and of teaching him how to develop and enjoy his occupation.

Education, in a broad sense, becomes one of the chief means to an end; the end is productive, satisfying group or social life. Not always has this kind of an ideal been held in view. The birth and development of the science of sociology have given impetus to it and have pointed the way to its fuller realization. An older ideal relating to individual gain through education has been responsible for shaping somewhat narrowly and selfishly many of our educational schemes. We are in the process of revising these to conform more agreeably to our newer social conception of education.

In setting forth the dualism, as exemplified in educational sociology, Professor Alvin S. Good¹ gives us four main features to be covered:

1. Educational sociology should collect from sociology the principles of how people live in social groups.
2. It should help give the education that is needed by the individuals who participate in the groups, in order to make them efficient members of the groups.
3. It should discover what part of the education and training each of the groups gives for its own functioning as well as to influence other groups.
4. It may include a summary of the principles of how people live in social groups in order that educators may recognize the principles involved in the school as a social group.

School systems are being held more and more responsible for inducting the individual into the social life of the time, but, important as these formal institutions are, the responsibilities should not remain here alone. The home and family, discussed in Chapter XIV, are foremost in educational and social responsibilities; they are the great interpreters for the child—the first to impart knowledge of social ways. The press is highly important in adult life and furnishes an excellent medium for social and educational development. Extracurricular activities of schools, the extension work of educational institutions, the library, lyceum, chautauqua, and motion picture all contain important dual significances and need to be appraised in such relations.

Need of education in a democracy.—A democratic form of society places definite and searching responsibilities upon each citizen. Under a democracy he is given broad privileges and great freedom of mind and person, but at the same time he is held to a strict accounting as to the disposition

¹ Good, Alvin S., "Sociology and Education," pp. 25-31, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1926.

and use of these; his social contributions and social behavior are closely scrutinized. As society grows more complex in its structure and more involved in its functioning, added responsibilities are placed upon its constituent members. To meet these demands, a continual recourse must be had to the avenues of enlightenment.

That many individuals fail in meeting the responsibilities imposed upon them by our society is attested on every hand by unsuccessful careers, broken spirits, and crowded penal, correctional, and charitable institutions. In many of these cases, however (and we fear the number is shamefully large), society has herself to blame rather than the individual. She may have set the ideal, but has done far too little to help the individual to attain it. How truly has it been demonstrated by James Eads Howe, the famous reformer of hoboes, that his charges must unlearn, so to speak, what they have acquired helter skelter, and start life over again through a proper orientation to social structures and functions. His first task in his Hobo colleges is to teach the fundamentals of society through imparting knowledge of economics and sociology.

In addition to providing knowledge sufficient for good citizenship, a democracy must also provide ways and means of obtaining skill. Everyone has to make his own living in a democracy; he is freed of the old protectorates, such as existed in other social states, and is placed upon his own resources. The educational institutions of a democracy have been called upon more and more to teach skills to the masses that they may find their niches in society and thereby be able to function efficiently. This, within itself, is no small task, and is one far from the point of perfection, vocational misfits, blighted lives, low efficiency, and occupational apathy are bold reminders of these facts.

In a democratic society the educational institutions are charged with teaching the dignity of labor—labor of all sorts

and kinds needed by it in carrying on its functions. It cannot select one form of labor and magnify it or depress it at the expense of others without unbalancing the social organization. Agriculture has suffered unduly at times by onerous comparisons. Our faithful agricultural colleges are rendering an incalculable service in giving the proper dignity to rural callings.

Enlarging educational opportunities is a task society cannot neglect. It demands more and more of the individual; therefore it must offer more ways whereby the individual may fit his own endowments to meet these demands. Vocations of all sorts which a few years ago were undreamed of are being called into existence. In one large automobile plant over 100,000 people are now employed at trades most of which were unheard of 20 years ago. The educational institutions of country life, as well as those elsewhere, have to keep abreast of the needs of society and provide for their constituents the necessary tools for living out a life of purpose and usefulness according to their abilities.

THE ONE-ROOM RURAL SCHOOL

A complete review of the educational features of the one-room rural school seems hardly necessary in a treatise of this kind. Students may obtain that material in courses and books on rural education. That the one-room school is passing in many sections of the country is a demonstrable fact; no revamping of its program has been able to stem the tide that has set in against it. This is an outgrowth of the times in which the farmer is seeking a wider and more effective outlet for his social and educational needs.

The one-room school, like the ox-cart, has served society well, but now, in most sections, the time has come for a different institution to take its place. Some of the causes for this yielding of the field to a superior institution are as

follows: Untrained teachers; an ungraded course of study in which the teacher has an almost impossible teaching schedule; serious difficulty of bringing modern apparatus and studies into an already crowded program; small enrollment of pupils and consequent apathy and lack of interest on the part of pupils; poor tax support, and incompetent local direction. There are other causes, depending upon local conditions, but these have been sufficiently real in most cases to compel a change to larger and better managed school units.

Some practices and policies of small rural schools.—In a recent survey of rural schools made by the Sears, Roebuck Agricultural Foundation, some significant facts have been developed. The study embraces one- and two-room schools, in the main, and was made in 19,368 rural homes which contained 41,039 children of school age. The following quotations have been taken from a report of the study:

The average distance from school for these children was one and two-third miles. Six per cent ride horseback to school, 61 per cent walk, 9 per cent drive a buggy, 6 per cent use an auto, and 18 per cent are taken on a regular school bus.

How many months of the year are rural schools operating? All the way from 4 to 10 months, with most of them operating short terms.

Ninety-three per cent of these communities have no kindergarten. This is evidently one educational field which is in rural districts practically untouched.

Our survey shows that of the schools in the counties reporting, 72 per cent are one-room; 20 per cent are two-room, and 8 per cent consolidated schools.

New schools are in the course of construction in 35 per cent of the districts reporting, while 65 per cent report no activity along that line. The East Cotton Belt, The Tobacco Belt, the Wheat Belt, and the Northeast Dairy Belt are building the most new schools.

What do our rural schools need most? . . . Twenty-seven per cent want better teachers; experienced, serious-minded, mature

women who know life and come prepared to guide the young minds. The inexperienced, frivolous type of girl is condemned as a teacher for rural youth. Five per cent want better equipment; 3 per cent want better buildings; 9 per cent want more consolidated schools; 3 per cent say anything but consolidated schools; 2 per cent want a library; 8 per cent insist that better roads should have been made before any improvement in educational facilities can become effective. Three per cent want high schools within reach of all; 3 per cent want longer terms; 5 per cent say more study, less non-essential subjects; 1 per cent say fewer subjects; 4 per cent ask for vocational training etc.²

This study, like many others that have been made, shows the general state of unrest concerning the present status of the smaller school units in the country. When we recall that there are about 161,531 of the small one-teacher schools in the United States, we get a picture of the large problems involved.

Proponents of rural school consolidation are prone to tell us in their enthusiasm that consolidation will cure the ills of the rural school. Such is, in part, the case in numerous sections, and as a consequence consolidation is going on apace, but that it has its limitations, and needs careful application to situations, few real students of the problem will deny. In some sections of the country the one-room schools have been too quickly and hastily abandoned, giving a resulting unfavorable reaction to the consolidation movement. Sparse, scattered, low tax-paying populations on unfavorable topography have to proceed slowly in consolidating their schools.

The place of the small rural school unit.—James F. Abel of the National Bureau of Education says that:

In the process of providing means for an education for more than 23,000,000 young people in an area of 3,000,000 square miles it will always be of advantage to use a few very small schools.

² *Rural America*, October, 1926, p. 14, The American Country Life Association, New York.

One-room schools are the most effective, as well as the cheapest, way of reaching some of the children. Eventually there will be accurate ways of determining where and under what circumstances they are the most useful kind of school. At present there are far too many of them trying to do the work where larger schools can do it in a better and, in the long run, probably cheaper way.³

What Mr. Abel brings out in the foregoing statements concerning a place for the one-room or small rural school is borne out by experience in various sections of the country. The State Board of Education of Connecticut has stated:

This Board is confidently of the opinion that many of the one-teacher schools should never be abandoned, assuming of course that they are kept in repair and adapted for use, even though good roads be provided, since there are geographical and social reasons which make their continuance both desirable and necessary.⁴

For Maine, we read: "Natural conditions in some parts of Maine are extremely unfavorable for consolidating the schools. The State Department advocates strong one-room schools in such sections."⁵

The Legislature of Minnesota in 1921 enacted a law by which the State grants special aid to districts providing for school attendance of isolated pupils, an isolated pupil being defined by the State board as "one living not less than 4 miles by the most direct road from the nearest school." In this way 749 pupils were taken care of. The State is improving rural education by abolishing one-room schools wherever that is feasible, and in other places by making them as effective as possible.⁶

"In Oregon, also, the betterment of the one-room schools is a definite State policy."⁷ It is stated that "the one-room

³ Abel, James F., "Recent Data on Consolidation of Schools and Transportation of Pupils," p. 22, *Bulletin 22*, Bureau of Education, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C., 1925.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

⁷ *Ibid.*

school will continue to be a part of Oregon's system, and for the improvement of that school we should devote much time and attention."⁸

Thus we see evidence of general feeling that in some areas of the country the one-room school should remain, but become the best that modern conditions know how to make it.

The modern one-room school.—We may well ask what can we make of these small school units in this day and age of heavy demands upon educational institutions. The modernization of these needed small schools is absolutely essential if the rural areas they serve are not to suffer further because of isolation, sparseness of settlement, and educational inequalities.

In many instances some form of state equalization of funds and services will be required to help these small schools function as they should. The modernized one-room rural school will generally mean a two-room, or more, school building with up-to-date equipment, ample grounds, and experienced teachers. All of these cost money and, in fact, may cost more money than consolidation. If consolidation is impracticable, however, the cost should be met by outside aid, if need be.

The following quotation indicates how costs are being met in different sections of the country:

During the year Georgia and Tennessee were added to the growing number of states which provide state equalization funds to assist poor school districts. School authorities, legislators and citizens are beginning to see that there are many rural school districts in the United States—some indeed in every state—in which there is not enough taxable wealth to give the children even a decent education, if local sources of income are the sole support of the schools.⁹

⁸ *Op. cit.*

⁹ *Rural America*, pp. 12-13, The American Country Life Association, New York, February, 1927.

In addition to this

The policy of providing trained supervisors of rural teachers is steadily being adopted. Steady progress is being made in providing special instruction for rural teachers in the training institutions. Experiments in the reorganization of the one-teacher school are going on. Curricular changes are being much discussed.¹⁰

At Quaker Grove, New Jersey, is a successful one-room rural school which is being used for experimental purposes by the Rural Education Department of Columbia University. In this school

The pupils are divided into three groups instead of the usual eight grades. This requires that the rural school teacher be only three people instead of eight, as is commonly the case.

"The exceptional child has the chance he never before had of going on as rapidly as he is able. There is a hot lunch at noon with one of the older girls as chief cook; daily health inspection; training in industrial arts." With it all, there is much more time for the three R's than in the ordinary school. It is concluded that the plan is workable elsewhere in one-room rural schools. "If a school like Quaker Grove with sometimes as high as 65 pupils, many of them foreigners who speak only Polish in their homes, can do it, then any school in the land can do it." It means more freedom to the individual child and a chance to advance as rapidly as his powers permit. To the teacher it means less routine and more opportunity to do big things in a big way.¹¹

Certainly with more money to put into the one-room school, with better paid, trained, and supervised teachers, and with better buildings and equipment these schools will render a satisfactory service to the smaller, more isolated groups of farm people who find it too difficult to unite forces with a larger school unit. At best, these schools will be chiefly of

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12, May, 1926.

the neighborhood type, but surely of a more socialized and enlightened neighborhood than is the case with so many of them today.

THE CONSOLIDATED RURAL SCHOOL¹²

Types, aims, and purposes.—There are various types of consolidation of rural schools, chief among which may be mentioned the union of several adjacent small districts, centralization for high school purposes, and consolidation of all the districts of a given area. All of these may relate to open country districts alone, or may include both town and rural districts thrown together. Needless to say, some of these plans are more comprehensive than others. Consolidation is coming more and more to mean the formation of a new and significantly enlarged district by the complete absorption of a considerable number of small one- or two-room school districts, and it may be brought about in conjunction with a town or village system, or may be simple open country consolidation.

Probably the chief aim in consolidating rural schools is to do away with an out-grown system of one-room, one-teacher schools, and to bring about an educational and administrative reorganization more suitable to the needs of the people. Secondary to this may be a desire to perfect a growing sense of community, and to make the school share largely in this social function. Some students of the question feel that this latter is one of the key points to be kept in mind in consolidating schools; that if it is fostered and safeguarded, the educational and administrative features will be easily handled. As the writer views the matter, the relationships of the social forces and agencies to be included within the consolidated

¹² This section follows the findings contained in the author's study of the Community Value of the Consolidated Rural School, printed as *Research Bulletin 2*, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1923.

district have not been sufficiently appreciated by promulgators of the consolidation movement. Educators have directed the movement and have been too little aware of the subtle social questions involved. It is time the rural sociologists were lending a hand to help preserve the community values of the consolidated school.

Whenever a new and enlarged school district is formed by wholes or parts of smaller districts, a social reorganization, as well as educational and administrative ones, take place. Through hasty and ill-planned projects antagonistic social groups may be thrown together, which seriously hinders community development and school support. Unfortunate rigidity in placing the boundaries of the consolidated school district may split co-operating groups.

Need of group choice.—For the reason that the rural school lies close to the heart of rural social problems, great precaution should be exercised in tearing down and in re-building rural school organizations. The imposition of consolidation by authorities higher up, such as county, state, or nation, is unwise. The consolidation movement should be preceded by careful consideration by the groups concerned, and should be carried out with full knowledge of their social inclinations.

The most successful consolidations, from both the social and educational points of view, follow from allowing as much free choice as possible to the groups themselves, reserving only a minimum of control, guidance, and direction from county, state, and national sources. Advice, counsel, and even assistance from outside authorities are important, but certainly are not to be used to stifle and dwarf normal, well-planned local initiative. Boundary lines for previously established functions should not stand in the way of permitting the formation of comprehensive social unities in the developing consolidated school district. Iowa and Mississippi have recognized this need for some time and permit districts to overlap

township and even county boundary lines; several other states have passed similar legislation.¹³

Cohesion of groups.—The proper cohesion of the members of a consolidated school district is very essential to their working together in the support of their school and community affairs. Cohesiveness is so subtle and difficult of determination that it has been grossly militated against, much to the injury of the highest success of rural community organization.

This cohesion will find expression in various ways. The historical development of the area or community may play a big part in determining what groups cling to one another and work for their common interests. Sometimes kindred ties extending over an appreciable territory will help in determining cohesive groups. Sometimes trade relations at a common center have built upon an acquaintanceship and fellow-feeling which can be definitely outlined and followed as a guide in placing a consolidated district. A large river, lake, or swamp, or a series of hills may distinctly form a social as well as a physical line of demarcation between groups.¹⁴

Density of population.—Closely allied with cohesion of groups is the question of density of population as a prime factor in the success of rural school consolidation. People must reside reasonably close together in order to be able to develop concertedness of action. The sparse settlement of the open country, or the settlement in small groups widely separated, so common in much of our West and Southwest, imposes a serious spatial handicap upon consolidation plans. In many of these cases the local primary schools are left in their respective neighborhoods, and high school facilities are made available at the nearest high school. In Montana this

¹³ For a fuller discussion of this and the following section, see Hayes, Augustus W., "Rural Community Organization," pp. 80-96, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1921.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

has given rise to the school dormitory to house the rural children at the center containing the nearest high school.

There are many portions of Montana so vast in extent and so lacking in population that only a few schools can be supported. Certain counties have areas larger than some of the eastern states, one county, for example, embracing a total number of square miles approximately equal to the combined areas of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Yet some of these counties have a school population only large enough to support one secondary school—the county high school. . . . Even in those counties where every district that can maintains a high school, there are still localities in which the distance between these schools and some of the homes is too great for daily travel.¹⁵

Volume of population.—The total volume of population to be made available through the formation of a consolidated school district is another essential factor ranking along with density of population. Sufficient numbers of people must be included within the district to give diversity of interests and stimulus to leadership, to support organizational life, and to furnish a large enough number of pupils to maintain well-developed school classes.

High school department a necessity.—Nothing short of a volume of population large enough to provide sufficient numbers of pupils to support and maintain a state-recognized four-year high school department in connection with the lower grades should be the ultimate aim of consolidation plans. A good high school department will need to contain upwards of 75 to 100 pupils and have enough teachers and equipment to give standardized work. These will usually mean a population base within the district of 1100 to 1600 people as a minimum number.

¹⁵ Richardson, J. E., and Barger, J. W., "Public School Dormitories for Rural Children in Montana," p. 6, *Bulletin No. 201, University of Montana, Bozeman, Montana, 1927.*

Where a high school department is included in the consolidation, the percentage of pupils going into high school work is much greater than is the case where a break in school systems exists. The following table representing some results of school consolidation in Randolph County, Indiana, illustrates the continuation of pupils in high school work where there is a high school department included in the school consolidation.

TABLE 20

SOME RESULTS FROM SCHOOL CONSOLIDATION, RANDOLPH COUNTY, INDIANA¹⁶

<i>Schools, Teachers, and Pupils</i>	<i>Number of Schools</i>	
	<i>Before Consolidation</i>	<i>After Consolidation, April, 1920</i>
One-room schools.....	131	4
Commissioned high schools.....	1	16
High school pupils.....	61	718
Teachers in graded schools.....	148	86
Percentage of eighth-grade graduates in high school.....	21-50	96

Area of district and volume of wealth.—If the consolidated district is to maintain good facilities, provide well-trained teachers, give liberal and broad course work, including the vocational and commercial, include a high school department, and engage in extra-curricular activities and like features, the district must have a substantial taxing base. Some students of the question have placed a minimum tax assessment valuation of \$1,000,000 as necessary to the maintenance of such a school.

¹⁶ Hayes, Augustus W., "Rural Community Organization," *op. cit.*, p. 63.

Abel, of the United States Bureau of Education, found from a study of 260 school consolidations that the typical consolidations serve an area of 36 square miles of territory having an average assessed valuation of \$1,250,000. He also learned that the school plant had a modern building with auditorium facilities for seating 400 people and a campus of 5 acres for school plots and recreation. The average valuation of these plants was \$57,000, and the average annual income was \$22,450. This gave \$80 to \$84 for each child enrolled, or \$91 to \$95 for each child in average daily attendance.¹⁷

Without doubt the average size of the district as reported by Abel is too small for many sections where there is not a relatively high density of population and considerable concentration of wealth. A district of 36 square miles applies quite well to many sections of the northern and middle western states, but in much of the South, West, and Northwest a larger district of upwards of 75 or 80 square miles will be required to give sufficient volume of wealth and population. The farmer is rapidly expanding his community through the uses of automobiles and good roads, and it is often as great a mistake to consolidate rural schools upon too small an area as it is to consolidate them upon too large an area.

Abel's study further showed that the typical consolidation maintained five transportation routes, conveying 110 children to and from school each day over an average distance of 4.7 miles one way, and at an average time of 35 minutes per child for the trip. The cost of this transportation was 3.8 cents per child per mile per day.¹⁸

Teacher status in the consolidated school.—The consolidated school is one of the best means of making available to

¹⁷ Abel, J. F., *op. cit.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

rural communities the leadership and training of good teachers. If the consolidation is in the open country, many schools erect teachers' cottages or teacherages as desirable places for housing their teachers. This helps to take care of the ever-present problem of desirable accommodations, and furnishes an incentive for teachers to remain longer in the school system and to become a more dynamic part of the community.

The use of special teachers, such as manual training, agriculture, recreation, and home economics teachers, is developed through the consolidated school. This helps to hold the pupils to their school work, and to carry them through the high school course. The work of these teachers in stimulating community events is of vital importance to the whole life of the rural community.

That the consolidated schools are availing themselves of well-trained teachers is brought out by Abel's study of typical consolidations. He shows that the average teaching staff consists of 11 persons of whom 6 or 7 are for the elementary grades and 4 or 5 for the high school department. Of these at least 6 are normal school or college graduates, and 9 have 2 or more years of teaching experience. The average pupil enrollment is 204 pupils in the elementary grades, and 76 pupils in the high school department. The general interest among the pupils of the consolidated school is usually so high that their attendance is 91 per cent of the enrollment.

Social advantages of the consolidated rural school.—It is probably evident to the reader that the consolidated rural school possesses superior social advantages. In the first place such a school furnishes enough pupils at the school itself so that effective organized play and recreation may be established for each age group. It gives the services of leadership in these activities and promotes the socialization process among the pupils. In extra-curricular activities among the pupils and adults, the consolidated school will usually be found wielding the superior influence in rural

communities. The author found in a study of the consolidated rural school in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama that these schools are rapidly becoming leading forces for stimulating community fairs, boys' and girls' clubs, community pageants, picnics and feats, athletic contests, and similar events. Many county agricultural agents and home demonstration agents in all of these states now recognize this fact, and base their work upon the consolidated rural school community unit.¹⁹

In a letter to the author, one of the principals of a Louisiana consolidated school stated:

The consolidated rural school and its district possess strong potentialities because of the following reasons: the school is the greatest mutual interest in the district; it is through the school that almost every home in the district is reached. The school is the natural center for all community activity. The school auditorium furnishes a meeting place for community organization. The school leads to social improvement through lectures, plays, moving pictures, lyceum courses, etc.; it enlarges the farmer's acquaintance, not only in his own district, but in other districts by various school programs. The consolidated school increases personal and civic pride. It leads to good roads and enhances the value of land. The home economics course for girls and the agriculture course for boys, offered in the consolidated school, revolutionize the farm homes.²⁰

If the consolidation of rural schools includes the school system of the nearby town or village, the consolidated school becomes a means of drawing farmer and townsman closer together. In the study above cited it was found that 75.8 per cent of the consolidated schools studied in Louisiana, 45.6 per cent of them in Alabama, and 37.5 per cent of them in

¹⁹ Hayes, Augustus W., "The Community Value of the Consolidated Rural School," *op. cit.*, p. 44.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Mississippi were located in the convenient town or village center.

If the consolidated district is so formed that it cannot conveniently avail itself of a town or village center for the location of the school, then the school helps, as few institutions can, to organize, centralize and focus, and thereby enrich, the social and educational life of the rural section served.

Surely the consolidated school is one of the most effective instruments the farmer has to assist the forces in education in meeting the demands of a democracy as given in the foregoing sections of the chapter. That the movement for consolidations is spreading rapidly is borne out by the following report:

The number of consolidated schools in 1926 in the 48 states was 16,674, which is an increase of 1761 over the number reported in 1924. The rate of increase in number of consolidated schools since the U. S. Bureau of Education began collecting data relative to them in 1918 has been about 1000 a year and the decrease in the number of one-teacher schools during this same period has been more than 4500 annually.²¹

SECONDARY AGRICULTURAL SCHOOLS

About twenty years ago a strong movement was developed by proponents of agricultural education to establish throughout the land numerous secondary schools which would largely train boys and girls for farming. Considerable headway was gained in the states of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Wisconsin. Dr. Clarence H. Robinson, in writing of these schools states:

The size of the district in which they have been or may be established also shows a wide variation. Alabama and Georgia

²¹ *Rural America*, p. 8, The American Country Life Association, New York, February, 1928.

have adopted the congressional district as the unit, giving them respectively nine and eleven such schools. Oklahoma has adopted the supreme court judicial district as the unit, and has established a school in each of the five districts, and an additional one in the "Panhandle." The judicial districts average about fifteen counties each. Arkansas was divided by its legislature during the past year, 1909, into four agricultural school districts, with from seventeen to twenty counties in each, in each of which a school has now been located. The county has been adopted as the unit by Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi and Wisconsin. . . . One school of this type has been established in Michigan, but none has been in Minnesota. Minnesota has, however, established as a branch of the state university a "state agricultural high school" at Crookston, which is not supported by any particular district and is supposed to minister to the northwestern section of the state in general.²²

The secondary agricultural school has failed to develop in the United States to the successful extent it has in Europe. In fact, its spread has been little beyond the states mentioned above, and in some of these states it has declined rather than progressed. The general feeling is that such schools, through their strong emphasis upon vocational preparation, fail to meet the standards of a universal type of secondary education that lays a solid foundation in general knowledge. The fear of further provincializing the farmer and of developing class distinctions through the adoption of such separate schools has halted their spread. The prevailing attitudes of educators on these points is well stated by Dean Eugene Davenport of the University of Illinois, as follows:

Personally, I do not believe in that philosophy of education which would establish separate schools for the various industries and occupations of life. I greatly prefer that theory of social and industrial development which would establish and maintain a single

²² Robinson, Clarence H., "Agricultural Instruction in the Public High Schools of the United States," pp. 117-118, Columbia University Press, New York, 1911.

system of schools wherein the people of all classes should be educated together, distinct courses being framed and conducted for the benefit of each in so far as the interests differ from those of the common mass or of other professions. And so we shall be one people. To this end let us be wise and preserve our educational unity as we work at the solution of our difficult problem of universal education.²³

Certainly educating boys and girls together through the grades and high school, who later go into all the various walks of life is a socializing advantage to be preserved.

AGRICULTURE IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS

The worthy ideal of a place for agricultural education in the secondary schools has been gained through adding courses in many different phases of agriculture to the high school curricula. This development has gone on apace throughout the country and has resulted in enriching the high school courses in both rural schools and city schools. The far-reaching values of this work in developing tolerance, understanding, and sympathy between pupils preparing for various vocations is difficult to estimate. Many high school systems have taken on rather extensive plot work in soils and crops, in the care of animals, and in the development of gardening or orcharding. Usually such schools also offer much work in manual training, and home economics; in many, also, the commercial subjects are being introduced.

In most states financial aid has been given by the state for fostering this work in the high school courses. Minnesota was one of the early states to systematize the instruction and to offer liberal state aid. In 1909 the legislature of Minnesota passed a law called the Putnam Act, which "provided for aiding each of ten schools of the state in the establish-

²³ Davenport, Eugene, "Education for Efficiency," p. 120, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, 1911.

ment of courses in Agriculture, Manual Training and Home Economics to the extent of \$2500 each year. This law also provided that rural districts near any of these schools might associate themselves with the central schools, for the purpose of securing the benefits of the special subjects taught under the provision of the law.''²⁴

Since the passage of the Putnam Act in Minnesota the work has expanded at a rapid rate; other acts have followed which have generally given liberal state aid to high, grade, and consolidated schools to teach in connection with their regular subjects the above-named vocational subjects. What has been true of Minnesota has been true to a greater or less extent in many states of the United States.

Probably one of the greatest movements to encourage the teaching of agriculture in the secondary schools of the country was the passage of the Smith-Hughes Federal Act of 1917.

This measure opened a broad field in both agricultural and mechanic arts which was immediately occupied by every State in the Union. Under the provisions of this act \$500,000 was made available to the States from Federal funds for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1917, and this amount has been increased yearly until now, in 1926, it amounts to \$3,000,000; which will represent the annual contribution of the Federal Government to the cause of vocational training unless amended in some way in the future.²⁵

Undoubtedly the Smith-Hughes law will do much in helping to bring high school facilities within the reach of all rural sections. This might be considered a type of equalization fostered by the Federal Government which will have far-reaching

²⁴ State Aid to Vocational Education in Minnesota, p. 4, *Bulletin No. 29*, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Minneapolis, 1911.

²⁵ *Yearbook*, United States Department of Agriculture, 1926, p. 128, Agricultural Education in the United States, Washington, D. C.

benefits in helping rural youths to acquire a more complete training and some of the necessary skill needed in rural life occupations.

In all of this stimulus of agricultural work in the secondary schools, it is important that the fundamental course of study be kept sufficiently broad and liberal that boys and girls may have a choice of subjects between the vocational and the non-vocational. It would be a fatal error of both social and educational significance to restrict farm boys and girls in any of our secondary or elementary schools so they have no other choice than to follow the vocational courses. All boys and girls born on farms do not choose to become farmers, even under the best arrangements; our schools will be doing such persons a decided injustice if they do not give them a chance to look in upon other modes of life in so far as that can be provided in a school curriculum. Furthermore, boys and girls destined to become farmers have the right to demand a preparation for broad and liberal citizenship functions so far as the school system can give it.

THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

The colleges of agriculture are of such great importance in the field of rural education and rural social life that it is considered appropriate to give a brief treatment of them here.

The impetus for the establishment of agricultural and mechanical colleges in the United States was given through the passage of the Morrill Act in Congress in 1862. Previous to this, a few states had agitated the question and had established, or were in the process of establishing, colleges of agriculture; Michigan, in 1857, was the first to open such a college. The act of 1862 gave to each state 30,000 acres of land for each member that state had in Congress; the land was to be sold or otherwise used for the purpose of maintain-

ing at least one college in the state that would teach agriculture, the mechanic arts, and military tactics, without excluding other scientific and classical studies. Since 1862 several acts have passed Congress further aiding the agricultural colleges and their sister institutions, the agricultural experiment stations, which were initiated under the Hatch Act of 1887. Vast sums of money from both State and Federal sources are now flowing into these institutions to further agricultural development. During the fiscal year of 1927, \$2,880,000 was paid by the Government to state agricultural experiment stations for research work under the Hatch, Adams, and Purnell Acts, also \$5,880,000 was paid to the state agricultural colleges for extension work in agriculture and home economics under the Smith-Lever Act.²⁶

There are 69 colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts now receiving aid from Congress. Every state has one college, and some have more than one; Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico have one each. In some states the agricultural and mechanical colleges are a part of the state university system; in other states they are separate from the state university.

The courses of study in the agricultural colleges are of college and university grade and are intended to prepare for the business of farming and various professional lines centering around state and national rural interests. The agricultural colleges have undergone a tremendous transformation since the establishment of the first ones of their kind. They are now equipping their students with a broad-gauged type of training equal to that of any of the professional schools of the country.

The agricultural college graduate has proved a great asset on the farm and in rural community life. In most cases he has been a pioneer and trail-blazer for a newer and higher appreciation of the ultimate values of life in the country.

²⁶ Report of the Secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1927, p. 87, Washington, D. C.

The agricultural colleges now have enrolled about 12,000 students, the majority of whom go into farming or allied lines of work. A. W. Gibson, in an investigation of what becomes of agricultural college students, found in a study of one of the larger agricultural colleges:

That 24.1 per cent of the graduates returned to farming; approximately 48 per cent went into agricultural business or trades and professions allied with agriculture; and only about 28 per cent took up non-agricultural work. Of the special students of this college, 46 per cent went back to actual farming and 53 per cent of the winter course students took up farming.²⁷

The great expansion of research work in agricultural colleges and experiment stations, in the United States Department of Agriculture, and in business corporations concerned with elaborating agricultural processes, has absorbed large numbers of agricultural college graduates. Likewise, the development of the teaching field in Smith-Hughes and other high schools which give courses in agriculture; college teaching positions; county agricultural agents, and boys' and girls' club work have all taken many young people trained in the agricultural field. Investigations show that a great many of these people finally go into farming for themselves after they have accumulated some capital from their professional work. In all of these capacities the agricultural college student performs a most important social and economic service to agriculture in its numerous contacts with all other businesses and professions of life. The agricultural college man is rendering an invaluable service in placing farming upon a higher and more respectable plane, and in introducing science and business methods into farm practice. His instruction and leadership, whether it be as a farmer himself, or as a professional worker, has far-reaching effect.

²⁷ Reported in Eastman, E. R., "These Changing Times," p. 165, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927.

SUMMARY

Rural schools have been undergoing valuable changes within the past ten or fifteen years. The modernization of the course of study, of the school plant, and of school organizations is steadily progressing. These changes have come slowly because of the reverence and traditions that have been attached to the "little red school-house" of the country. With about 160,000 of these little schools in operation today we still have a big task ahead. Making them up-to-date through state aid, if necessary, consolidating them into comprehensive systems, where possible; and always demanding a high degree of social service will help solve rural school problems. The discussions relating to the community significances of the consolidated rural school are intended to emphasize the social functions of the school, and to show how they may be developed and preserved.

A high school course is now considered so necessary in preparation for life's work that the country districts need to be encouraged in every way possible to provide high school facilities for every boy and girl. We have seen that school consolidation facilitates this in a most effective manner. School dormitories, as cited by the Montana example, are valuable in enabling rural children to attend distant high schools. The township high school as developed in Illinois is another way of providing rural districts with high schools. Better teacher training for rural districts and a higher level of teachers' salaries are urgently needed. Teacherages help to solve the problems of living quarters for rural teachers, and also make for greater stability and contentment within the profession.

The agricultural college has come to be the outstanding technical school for the farmer. It is probably doing more than any other institution to develop better methods of farming; it is also sending skilled individuals into professional

and commercial lines, allied with farming, who are helping to create a most wholesome public regard and attitude for rural interests and problems.

Finally, we should remember that country life provides, aside from the school, a valuable educational influence difficult for the city to substitute for, and that is out-of-the-school experience, which has a larger significance in the life of the country boy and girl than people usually realize. This point will be treated fully in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVI

RURAL EDUCATION

(*Extension and Adult Education*)

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES OF THE RURAL SCHOOL

Meaning and importance of extra-curricular activities.—The school long has been called upon to take an interest in and help support social and educational affairs outside its immediate school-room tasks, but never before has it had so broad a program or such definite aims as it has today. The old-time activities involving spelling-bees, declamation contests, special day exercises, debates, and similar features were useful, but limited in their scope and plans for conscious social development. The break between school-room life and the life outside is now less sharply defined, and the place of the school in the life of the community is coming to carry more multiple relations than heretofore has been the case. Most of this development grows out of the newer conception of the school and its sphere of influence.

Professor Briggs tells us there are two outstanding principles to govern extra-curricular activities of schools. These are as follows:

First, they offer the school its best opportunity to help pupils do certain desirable things that they are going to do anyway—viz., take their places as members of social units and exercise, each according to his ability, those qualities of leadership, initiative, co-operation, and intelligent obedience, all fundamental in society.

Second, they offer a ready channel through which the school may utilize the spontaneous interest and activities of the adolescent and

through these lead to higher types of activities and make them both desired and possible of attainment.¹

Objectives of extra-curricular work.—The extension of work with pupils outside their regular class-room duties assists them, more than is often appreciated, to interpret their lessons and experiences in terms of social growth and development. In this form of instruction and leadership, which by its construction is quite informal, young people have the best of opportunities to find their chief interests in life and to develop personal drive and initiative. The breadth of contacts the child may cultivate gives him a chance to find himself in an understanding way. As Roemer and Allen say, “ . . . We are concerned, not alone with the elect few, but with every young American in arranging an extra-curricular activities program. . . . ”² They state that the committee on the Re-organization of Secondary Education has set up seven objectives of education as follows: health, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure time, and ethical character.

In reviewing the seven objectives as stated above, it is evident that at least six of them lend themselves remarkably well to training through an extra-curricular activities program which includes athletics, student participation in government, and clubs of all kinds wherein there is correlation both with class room work and with community activities.³

The wide range of extra-curricular activities.—In the author's own study of the consolidated school in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, it was found that “the outstanding leadership of the school is of no small consequence in help-

¹ Quoted from Roemer, J., and Allen, C. F., “Extra-Curricular Activities,” pp. 1 and 2, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, 1926.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

ing shape the social values of the community. A task is placed upon the organization here which it cannot morally justify itself in shirking. Conscious recognition of these factors, and definite, well-laid plans for meeting them in a most satisfactory way are essentials to be considered in the formation of rural consolidated school plants."

At athletic contests alone in Louisiana during a year, 31,000 persons were entertained at the 23 consolidated schools reporting on this feature. In Mississippi, over 15,000 people attended picnics, barbecues, and similar events held at the 14 consolidated schools reporting on these. For fairs and boys' and girls' club meetings, Alabama heads the three states with an attendance of 7850 persons at the former, and 6118 at the latter, held at the 11 consolidated schools reporting for fairs and the 23 consolidated schools reporting for club meetings.⁴

The following table will indicate the range of some of the extra-curricular activities growing out of the consolidated school organization in Louisiana. All of these activities used the school buildings as their headquarters.

Extra-curricular activities are a means of better teaching young people in and during school periods, as they lead the pupils to mobilize every resource of the community in the interpretation of their lessons and their social environment. Student publications, dramatics, the Hi. Y., pageants, fairs, and carnivals all lend themselves to a dual purpose between the school and the community. The well-manned one-room rural school, as well as the consolidated rural school, may establish good extra-curricular service although it may be upon a smaller scale.

⁴ Hayes, Augustus W., "The Community Value of the Consolidated Rural School," p. 37, *Research Bulletin*, No. 2. Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1923.

TABLE 21

EVENTS HELD AT CONSOLIDATED RURAL SCHOOLS IN LOUISIANA DURING THE YEAR 1921-1922⁵

Events	Number of Schools	Per Cent of Whole	Number of Events	Total Attendance	Average Attendance	Median Attendance	Range of Attendance
Fairs.....	6	10.3	6	4,100	500.0	400-500	250-2000
Boys' and Girls' Clubs.....	16	27.6	165	5,528	41.4	25- 30	12- 125
Community Dances.....	10	17.2	25	4,365	165.5	100-150	50- 500
Athletics, Games.....	23	39.7	230	30,980	154.3	150	40- 500
Farmers' Organization Meetings.....	12	20.7	27	1,398	56.0	25	12- 150
Literary Society.....	19	32.7	237	14,625	71.8	50	20- 250
Picnics, Box Suppers, Barbecues and Banquets.....	13	22.4	32	4,635	215.0	250	35- 700
Lyceum Courses.....	8	13.7	26	6,550	218.5	250	100- 400
School Plays and Entertainments.....	14	24.1	42	9,785	228.5	200-250	25- 700
Citizens Clubs, School Welfare and Improvement Clubs.....	5	8.6	19	720	99.0	200	20- 240
Boys Scouts.....	2	3.4	33	423	13.5	12- 15	12- 15
Parent-Teachers' and Mothers' Clubs.....	2	3.4	9	135	17.5	.....	10- 15
Pageants.....	1	1.7	1	300			
Moving Pictures.....	3	5.1	26	3,550	153.3	150	60- 250
Church.....	2	3.4	18	61	35.0	25- 45	25- 45
Sunday School.....	2	3.4	76	4,536	63.0	51- 75	51- 75

Project and Four-H. Club work.—One of the most important phases of both school laboratory teaching and extracurricular work is the so-called project activity. In this, agriculture and home economics subject material may be very effectively treated. Project or club work usually spreads from state and county leadership throughout the schools, and especially the rural schools. The special teachers in agriculture and home economics become sub-directors of the work in their respective school districts; this is not always the case, but is becoming such with the spread of Smith-Hughes schools and the introduction of the special teachers into the rural schools. In the conduct of the project work during the sum-

⁵ *Op. cit.*

mer the special teacher comes in contact with the adults of the district by meeting them at the home of his club workers, where much of the project work will be conducted. These contacts help both the teacher and the parents and better cement relations with the school.

The boys' and girls' club work has been developing with great rapidity throughout the United States. Although it was operating with various degrees of strength in many sections of the country by 1914, the passage of the Smith-Lever Act in Congress at this time stimulated and systematized it and gave it definite state and national leadership. It now generally takes the name of 4-H club work, signifying the training of head, heart, health, and hands.

In the 10-year period following the passage of the Smith-Lever Act, 1915-1924 inclusive, more than 5,000,000 farm boys and girls have been engaged in 4-H club work. As club members, these boys and girls pledged themselves to carry out a farm or home enterprise using the best practices developed by the State agricultural colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture. Under the supervision of State and county extension agents of these co-operating institutions, they undertook voluntarily to teach themselves, their friends, and their neighbors by actual demonstrations the value of such practices. In so doing, they have made a genuine and substantial contribution to the improvement of American farm life.⁶

In the club work boys and girls from 10 to 18 years of age select projects which they will conduct to completion, keeping account of all labor, materials used, and the results obtained. A story of the work and results is to accompany the report of the club worker. Assistance is given during the course of the project by the club leader, whether he be vocational teacher, county agricultural agent, or special club leader.

⁶ "Boys' and Girls' 4-H Club Work Under the Smith-Lever Act," 1914-1924, *Miscellaneous Circular No. 85*, p. 1, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1926.

Usually a considerable selection of projects is open to boys and girls, such as growing an acre of corn, raising pigs, caring for a garden plot, canning fruits and vegetables, and similar projects.

If possible, the workers are organized into clubs of 10 to 15 members so they may have meetings of their own frequently and may be more effectively directed or instructed by their leader.

Boys' and girls' club work has proved one of the most valuable and interesting phases of rural education. Federal, state, and local agencies are now expending much more than \$1,000,000 a year in carrying on this important phase of rural education. The large farm organizations, the rural press, and metropolitan press have been hearty in their support of the work. County and state fairs, bankers' associations, commercial organizations of various kinds, Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions Clubs have all given a hand in fostering the work. Enrollment in club work now reaches to approximately 1,000,-000 boys and girls a year. It is difficult to conceive of a more far-reaching and fundamental work in rural education. Through it boys and girls are learning to "take their places as members of social units and exercise each according to his ability, those qualities of leadership, initiative, co-operation, and intelligent obedience, all fundamental in society."

EXTENSION EDUCATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES AND THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The magnitudes of extension work.—Extension work from the agricultural colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture has grown to tremendous proportions within the past few years. The Smith-Lever Act of Congress in 1914 also found this fairly well developed in various states, but gave it added impetus and organization. As Dr. C. B. Smith of the United States Department of Agriculture says:

A new leaven is at work in country life. The farmers, the agricultural colleges, and the United States Department of Agriculture are co-operating in a great teaching program that has for its object a more efficient and profitable agriculture, an adequate supply of food and clothing for the Nation, and a larger social, recreational, and educational life.

There are directly engaged in the new work about 5,000 Federal and State employees giving full time to the work, 200,000 volunteer farm men and farm women acting as chairmen of committees or sponsors of local improvement work, and about 1,500,000 farm and home demonstrators. The Federal Government is spending about \$7,000,000 annually in support of the work, and the States and counties about \$12,000,000 more, making a total of around \$19,000,000.⁷

The agricultural colleges have practically all established extension departments which have full charge of extension education within their states, and through which the extension division of the United States Department of Agriculture works within the state. These extension divisions have charge of the county agricultural agent work, home demonstration agent activities, and all other phases of extension education from the college or Department of Agriculture. Farm demonstrations, home demonstrations, lectures, inspection tours, short courses, printed bulletins, circulars, and pamphlets are all features of extension education which seek to place the best workable practices at the disposal of farmers and home makers in a way in which they can utilize them. It is the supreme test of educational propaganda.

Dr. Smith states that the extension service during 1925 put on over 1,000,000 demonstrations to show farm people how to carry out scientific and approved practice in such details as spraying fruits, fertilizing cotton, culling poultry, canning vegetables, making clothing, etc. Fifty-six thousand farmers

⁷ *Yearbook*, United States Department of Agriculture, 1926, p. 342, Washington, D. C.

were assisted with details concerning the management of their farms; it aided farmers in the organization of 2800 cooperative marketing associations and 3300 farm loan associations.⁸

The county agricultural agent.—One of the first and strongest forces in the extension education program among farmers is that of the county agricultural agent.

Beginning of the work: The work received its inception through the efforts of Dr. S. A. Knapp of the United States Department of Agriculture, who in 1903 sought to control the encroachments of the cotton boll-weevil in Texas. Under Dr. Knapp's direction a plan was drawn up to enroll and assist farmers in the infested areas in Texas in a co-operative endeavor to head off the weevil.

The first agents with headquarters in the field were appointed in 1904. J. A. Evans, . . . and W. F. Proctor were the first men to be selected. They served a territory along a railway in southern Texas. In 1906 William C. Stallings was appointed county agricultural agent for Smith County, Texas, and served until 1911. He was the first man to be so appointed in the United States.⁹

The spread of the work: The plans for the employment of county agricultural agents spread rapidly throughout the South so that by 1914, 718 southern counties were using the services of agents. The states in the North and West had become interested in the meanwhile and had fallen into line one after another. At first the work was instituted and supported by various groups and individuals among whom were the General Education Board, Julius Rosenwald Fund, chambers of commerce, several railroad companies, and farm or-

⁸ The Agricultural Extension Program, *Rural America*, November, 1927, p. 11, American Country Life Association, New York.

⁹ Lloyd, Wm. A., "Country Agricultural Agent Work Under the Smith-Lever Act, 1914-to-1924," *Miscellaneous Circular No. 59*, pp. 2-3, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

ganizations. The organization of the work was not very complete, and its principles were not well defined until 1914, when, with the passage of the Smith-Lever Act in Congress, aid and direction were offered by the Government.

Immediately after the passage of the act a general memorandum of understanding was prepared and submitted to the States. This memorandum, prepared by A. C. True, Chairman of the States Relations Committee, provided for a uniform plan of administration of the act through a Federal extension organization in the United States Department of Agriculture and in each of the State land-grant colleges.

The Smith-Lever Act established an orderly system of finance based on Federal, State, and county funds, supplemented by funds contributed by private individuals within the State. Contributions from private organizations outside of the State ceased to be used. The immediate effect of the act was the creation of a uniform system of extension administration in the colleges.¹⁰

Since 1914 the county agricultural agent work has grown with great rapidity, as is shown by Figure 15 on page 384.

By June 30, 1926, there were 2270 county agricultural agents and 114 assistant agents in the United States; 163 of these were negro agents working among negro farmers of the South.

Selection and supervision of county agricultural agents: The county agricultural agent is generally a carefully selected man who has had an agricultural college education and practical experience in farm life. He resides in the county which uses his services and which appropriates through its local funds a proportionate share of his expenses. Local Farm Bureaus are now becoming sponsors for a portion of the county's financial support and supervision of the county agricultural agent. In some states, notably Indiana, the County Board of Education, through the County Commissioners, ap-

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 7

COUNTIES HAVING COUNTY AGRICULTURAL AGENT WORK (black)
JUNE 30, 1914



A

COUNTIES HAVING COUNTY AGRICULTURAL AGENT WORK (black)
JUNE 30, 1924



B

Courtesy U.S.D.A.

FIG. 15.—Maps Showing Growth of County Agricultural Agent Work During the First Decade of Extension Work under the Smith-Lever Act.¹¹

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

propriates local funds and exercises some supervision over the agent. The tendency in all directions is to make representative, responsible farm organizations responsible for the local supervision and support of the agent. In this way his services will be more readily accepted by those for whom he is employed.

The program of county agricultural agents: It is difficult to sum up in brief the work of the county agricultural agent, so manifold and extensive are his duties. A typical annual summary report of an agent in Texas, which has just come to hand, will reveal in part the type of work county agricultural agents perform:

Conducted campaigns for thick planting of cotton and control of cotton-leaf worm which reflected additional profits of \$184,000.

Culled flocks of poultry aggregating 6000 hens, removing 1200 culls. Recommended better practices on feeding, housing, disease and parasite-control to more than 100 poultry raisers.

Conducted club work with 34 members completing their projects and producing \$2,229.51 worth of crops and live-stock. One pig club project brought national publicity and resulted in more than 50 farmers adopting better feeding practices.

Assisted farmers and dairymen in securing two car-loads of good dairy cows. Brought about T. B. testing of more than 200 cows; assisted 30 farmers with dairy feeding and other problems.

Stopped two outbreaks of cholera in hogs and personally treated more than 200 hogs to prevent cholera. Assisted numerous farmers in the control of round worms in swine, and other hog problems.

Contributed more than 100 news articles to local and state newspapers, state and national farm magazines.

Distributed pure-line grain sorghum seed and certified cotton-seed through co-operation with the Chamber of Commerce and the Midland National Bank.

Conducted a campaign against rabbits, rats, and ravens resulting in enough poison being distributed to destroy 30,000 rats, 20,000 rabbits, and 10,000 ravens.

In co-operation with Leon Goodman, began investigations on the control of mineral deficiency in beef cattle.

Spent 221 days in the field, 81 days in the office, made 349 farm visits, and held 91 meetings. Traveled 6627 miles; wrote 575 letters; had 1049 office visits.¹²

The above is a report of an agent in a relatively thinly populated southwestern county, but even so, it shows a multiplicity of duties and a versatility of knowledge sufficient to challenge any strong person. Under well-settled agricultural conditions, the agents have been able so to organize their work that they deal more effectively with farm problems through groups of farmers, rather than through individuals. Also, they are commencing to emphasize more fully and completely the living and social sides of farm life and place less emphasis than formerly upon the purely economic.

The county home demonstration agent.—Home demonstration agents have been called into the field relatively recently. They find their chief work with farm women and girls, and have thereby helped to relieve the county agricultural agent of duties he was being called upon to perform which were beyond his training and interests.

The organization and support of the work of home demonstration agents is similar in nature to that of the county agricultural agents. Their work also is organized and conducted along similar lines. There are approximately 1100 county home demonstration agents and 300 home economics specialists now aiding farm women and farm girls in making farm life more profitable and enjoyable.

Grace Frysinger of the United States Department of Agriculture, in her report on Home Demonstration Work in 1926, states, "During 1926, projects contributing to economic and physical well-being were dominant but there was an increase in interest over previous years in projects of broader scope, such as training for parenthood, music appreciation, recrea-

¹² *Midland, Texas, Reporter*, January 6, 1928.

tion, training in parliamentary procedure and in the responsibilities of citizenship.''¹³

Miss Frysinger says that 469,465 farm women during 1926 acted as demonstrators of desirable farm-home practices, and 126,709 farm women gave volunteer service in the development and growth of home demonstration work. Also, that during the year, 188,595 farm girls conducted demonstrations in some phase of farm home making.¹⁴

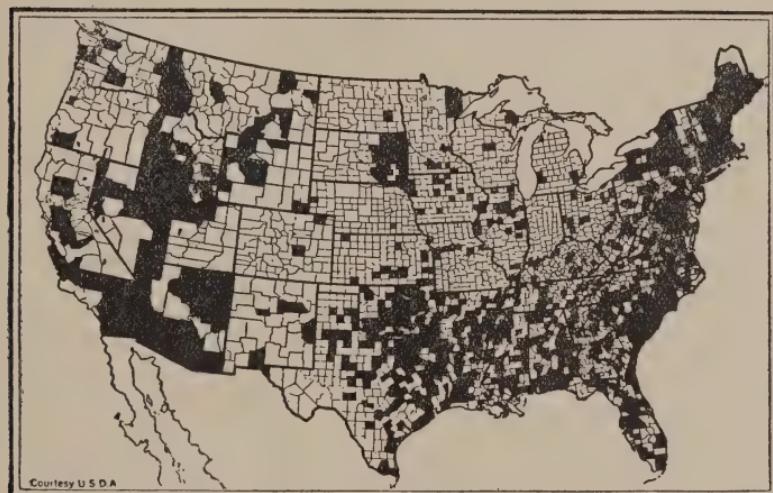


FIG. 16.—Map Showing Counties (in black) in the United States Having Home Demonstration Agents, June 30, 1925.¹⁵

The home demonstration work has been progressing steadily during the past 10 years, although the lack of local, state, and federal funds has been a retarding influence. It holds so much of large potential value for social life on the farm

¹³ *Extension Service Circular 50*, p. 18, Home Demonstration Work, 1926, Office of Co-operative Extension Work, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁵ Co-operative Extension Work, 1925, p. 47, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1927.

that its encouragement is needed on every hand. As Miss Frysinger further states:

Farm women are assuming responsibility for organization of community groups for analyzing local needs, and for assisting the extension service in planning a program based upon local vision, abilities, and recognized desires. Farm women are recognizing the leadership of the extension service in helping them analyze home community needs; to train them and their daughters in subject matter having to do with better physical, social, and educational conditions for the rural home and community; and to train them to organize and administer the business affairs of their organization.¹⁶

THE FOLK SCHOOL

An important phase of adult education which has been developing slowly for many years is that of regular school work of untutored or relatively illiterate adults. The mission movement among immigrants in our cities and the folk schools of Denmark offer somewhat parallel examples. Some 17 states are now maintaining school facilities for adults who desire to overcome the deficiencies in their early careers in formal education. In this regard the moonlight schools of Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina have been notable. Berea College in Kentucky has engaged in a most productive program of education among illiterate adults in the mountains of Kentucky. This program is both resident, given at the college, and extension, given in the homes and neighborhoods of the people. It includes instruction in the fundamentals of elementary education, and instruction in agriculture, home economics, and handicrafts.

In many of the southern states the public school building is used for evening classes for adults, and also for summer school classes for adults. All of this work is of great service

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

in helping poor and ignorant farm people to function more efficiently and to rise above the levels of their poverty.

The John C. Campbell Folk School.—One of the most interesting developments is that of the John C. Campbell Folk School, located at Brasstown, North Carolina. It is based upon the principles of the folk high school of Denmark. Mrs. Olive D. Campbell, the Director, states:

The Danish folk high school is for young adults, eighteen to thirty years of age; it sets no requirements; gives no examinations; offers no credits; its primary purpose is, through the influence of personality and oral teaching, to arouse the individual so that "he will never stop growing." It distinguishes, in other words, between acquiring and developing. It does not try to assume responsibility for local changes, but to awaken the desire for the better life which is the only sound basis for change.

Principles which have taken form in one country will doubtless take a somewhat different form in a new environment. We emphasize the experimental character of the John C. Campbell Folk School. It must find a new approach to old subjects; it must develop a new technique of teaching. Furthermore, if the teaching is to enrich rural life, it must be rooted in a deep belief in the country; not perhaps as it is, but as it may be: its power to satisfy; to offer a full life.¹⁷

The school is to consist of a home and farm which will instruct not over 100 students a year. The student will come during the winter months and live at the school. History, geography, literature, sociology, civics, and nature study are among the branches to be taught, as well as reading, writing, and arithmetic. Vocational subjects in the home and on the farm are also to be an important feature of the school; pageantry, school programs, and dramatics are to teach and inspire the students in self expression and in community loyalty.

¹⁷ Campbell, Olive D., "John C. Campbell Folk School," *Rural America*, November, 1926, p. 12, American Country Life Association, New York.

Mrs. Campbell's plans are to have the instruction as informal as possible and to give the individual much latitude to find his or her own interests. This school will be a valuable experiment of what this type of adult education may be able to accomplish under American conditions.

THE PRESS AND RURAL LIFE

The city daily.—The educational and social significances of the newspaper have become very great in rural communities. Farmers are rapidly becoming readers of world news and are demanding that it reach them as quickly as possible. The daily market's reports, and their trends, are features of the city daily that farmers want. Some dailies have sought to cultivate their rural patrons further by giving over sections of their papers once or twice a week to special farm news. These portions of the daily will contain valuable articles on farm practices contributed by qualified writers from the farm, agricultural college, or elsewhere.

The urban daily plays a large part in helping the farmer to gain a cosmopolitan attitude, and to become interested in, and informed upon, the broad issues of the day. Farmers are generally careful readers of their papers—seldom being content with headline reading. The importance of the character of the press as it circulates among rural patrons is of no small significance. A recent text in general sociology states:

There is no doubt that the average citizen acquires more of his daily information from the press than he does from the school or any other source. This indicates the important function, as well as the great responsibility, exercised by the press in regard to the shaping of public opinion in the modern world. There is little doubt that the deplorably low level of contemporary public life has been due to the inferior and unreliable nature of much of the material carried in our more popular newspapers and periodicals, which is produced, of course, by the unwillingness of the public

adequately to support papers and periodicals willing to supply a higher grade of more reliable information and capable of rendering such a service.¹⁸

The urban daily can do more than almost any other factor in helping the city and the country to understand each other and better to appreciate each others' problems. Wise selection and use of educative material bearing upon the problems of each group, wholesome interest in rural life, and a real effort to be of service to all groups are of key importance to the city daily in its rural influence.

The country weeklies.—The town and village papers are closer to rural life than any of the newspapers. They are rather distinctly community organs, as the immediate trade area of the town or village is their chief patronage area. An outstanding illustration of the community leadership of a country weekly is seen in the case of the Stanley Republican of Stanley, Wisconsin. W. H. Bridgman, the editor, took a long view of his community and, some thirty years ago, commenced to educate his readers to develop a stabilized form of agriculture as the dense timber of the region was removed by the saw-mills. Persistently, through special articles, occasional feature editions, and finally, a regular farm department in the paper, Mr. Bridgman drove his philosophy of a permanent agriculture deep into the practices of his community. After 26 years of such service, with a resulting prosperous countryside around Stanley, he was given honorary recognition as a community builder by the University of Wisconsin.

Norman J. Radder writes:

Mr. Bridgman was one of the first editors to see the intimate relation between the town and country, between the prosperity of the farmers and business conditions in the county seat. More than

¹⁸ Davis, J. Barnes, H. E., et al., "Introduction to Sociology," p. 182, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, 1927.

that, he realized as long ago as 1898 that farm news is good news in a community where many of the readers are farmers; and that local farm news in no way infringes on the domain of the agricultural trade journal or the Experiment Station bulletin.¹⁹

Community service is the key to the success of the country weekly. This requires a thorough knowledge of all the resources and needs of the area, together with a clear vision of the possibilities; the editor must be somewhat of a prophet. He must be able to translate the ideals of modern progress into terms that will catch and lead his readers. As M. V. Atwood well says:

The country newspaper is a service agency; it is a community institution like the church, the school, the library, and the farm and home bureau. It helps all these institutions to do their work. Farm and home bureau agents who have tried to start bureaus in communities not having newspapers know this.²⁰

Many country weeklies have been content to drift along, letting their columns fill up with insignificant happenings, unattractive advertisements, petty politics, and second-hand world news. Their editorials have either been a minus quantity, or have shown no lively interest in their community, no vision of their field, and no constructive philosophy. In the field of such country weeklies the city daily has been making serious inroads within recent years. It has been estimated that over 3000 country weeklies have gone out of existence within the past 10 years in the United States.

Professor Taylor,²¹ in a very complete analysis of some 243 country weeklies in Missouri, found that 92 per cent of all

¹⁹ Radder, Norman J., "Newspapers in Community Service," p. 50, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1926.

²⁰ Atwood, M. V., "The Country Weekly in New York State," p. 306, *Cornell Reading Course for the Farm*, Lesson 155, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1920.

²¹ Taylor, C. C., "Rural Sociology," pp. 265-66, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1926.

editorial space was given to town interests and only 7.3 per cent to rural; 61.74 per cent of the total news space was given to national news, syndicate news, clipped news, patent insides, and boiler plate; of the local news 82.2 per cent was town news, and only 17.8 per cent was country news.

Number and location of country weeklies.—Ayers' *American Newspaper Annual and Directory* for 1927 states that there are 13,839 weekly papers and periodicals, and that 8972 of these are weekly newspapers published in towns of 5000 inhabitants and under. That the country weekly is closely associated with the rural town is shown by the fact that Illinois and Iowa, which contain a high percentage of rural towns, each have more than 500 small town weekly newspapers. Almost one-half of all the country weeklies in the United States are published in the north-central states, and they have a circulation of about 16,400,000 copies, which is nearly one-half of the total circulation of the city dailies.

The community newspaper has a unique place in its territory, and like the country itself, it has a chance to develop a style or individuality all its own; it can assume the more human and friendly touch that is well-nigh impossible for the city daily. As Dr. M. M. Willey says, "No man is in a position to know his community in more detail than the alert editor, and it is within his grasp to capitalize this knowledge to the benefit of all who come within his influence."²²

Agricultural journals.—*Their range of interests:* A decided improvement has come into the agricultural papers of the country within the past fifteen years. They are meeting a long-felt need of the farmer in giving him, in attractive style, short, concise articles, and pertinent facts about his business, social, and health interests. These papers render a large service to the general farm reader by the intimate and

²² Willey, M. M., "The Country Newspaper," p. 14, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1926.

non-technical character of much of their material; in imparting usable information along some lines they have surpassed the experiment station bulletin. The agricultural journal holds to a broad program of knitting together the whole of farm and community interests. The alertness of their editors in securing and interpreting the findings of the experiment stations and other scientific bodies make them constructive and valuable adjuncts to these organizations. Also, the proper use and interpretation of farmers' experiences in the conduct of business and social affairs give the journal a practical aspect that appeals to its readers.

Most of the farm journals have well-established departments with sub-editors in charge. Some of these departments are: home and family, engineering, recreation, education and schools, citizenship and law, and health and sanitation. The editorials of the larger and better-manned journals display a good insight into rural problems, and offer much in the way of constructive leadership.

Professor Taylor in a study of 28 farm journals found that they were underemphasizing some of the important features of rural life. He says:

. . . they were shown to be giving to each institution (to the rural home, the rural church, the rural school, and rural recreation) less than an average of 1 per cent of their total space.²³

He found also that technical production, fiction, nature study, and marketing ranked first, second, and third respectively in space given to different subjects. In regard to such, the agricultural journal no doubt largely reflects the demand of its reading public. Production and marketing have long been conceived of as the farmer's key problems. The farm journals, like the agricultural colleges, have leaned heavily towards the economic phases of the agricultural industry.

²³ Taylor, C. C., *op. cit.*, p. 263.

Even more quickly, however, than the agricultural colleges, have they sensed the wholeness of rural life, and shown it in the range and interest in their various columns. The development of the materials of rural sociology is helping all farm periodicals, as well as farmers, to demand more information on the social side of farm life. There is no doubt that there is need of trained social students on the staffs of the journals in order to assist in the interpretation of the larger social questions.

Number and circulation: That the farm journals of America have a large influence is suggested by their number and circulation. Ayres' *Newspaper Directory* for 1927 shows that there are over 500 of these journals and papers now being published; they have a circulation of about 15,000,000 copies a year. Forty have a circulation of over 100,000 copies, and three have passed the 1,000,000 mark.

Specialized agricultural publications.—Some of the numerous publications catering to specialized farming interests are as follows: Live-stock journals, dairy journals, poultry journals; horticulture, floriculture, and fruit growers' publications; corn growers', cotton growers' and tobacco producers' journals. Some of the large farm organizations also publish valuable papers for their members and the public, among which are the American Farm Bureau Federation, The Grange, and most of the state farm organization groups.

The bulletins, circulars, yearbooks, and special reports of the agricultural colleges, experiment stations, state departments of agriculture, and United States Department of Agriculture are easily obtained and widely read by farmers. Civic groups, commercial organizations, health bodies, and the like are also contributing much valuable material for the farmers' instruction.

BOOKS AND LIBRARIES

Importance of books to rural life.—Books, it has been said, are the ever burning lights of accumulated wisdom. Libraries are the most effective institution society possesses of making this wisdom generally available to the people. If these two statements are true, a population insufficiently supplied with library service is suffering a handicap in keeping abreast of the knowledge of the times. The reading of books supplies a place in the life of an individual not supplied by the newspaper or magazine. Books are written that subject matter may be treated with completeness and in proper detail, and given a proper breadth and range. To follow a subject through to finality helps to give depth and helps to develop analyzing powers in the reader. Books have a peculiar significance to the farm home, because of its relative social isolation. To keep up with society and to keep up with the developments of his profession the farmer is required to read more now than ever before. A great mass of information for farmers is being turned out by way of the printed page; the day is well at hand when he must have much of this material easily available.

Few libraries for country people.—A little investigation shows us, however, the great paucity of library aid for rural districts. The American Library Association has estimated that 83 per cent of the rural population is without access to public libraries; that out of 3065 counties in the United States 1135 have no public libraries within their boundaries.

Figure 17 illustrates how poorly supplied most farm homes are with library books. The figure also illustrates the large percentage of all groups of farmers who are taking newspapers and farm journals.

Professor Rankin states that "more than three-fifths of all the people of Nebraska are without access to public library facilities, and that as things are now organized those parts

of the State which have the fewest people in towns have also the lowest percentage of the people living in territory served by libraries." ²⁴

Some types of library service.—Several types of library service have been inaugurated in various parts of the country to assist rural districts in obtaining library facilities. State extension libraries are among the earliest of these forms. Massachusetts started such service in 1890, and since that

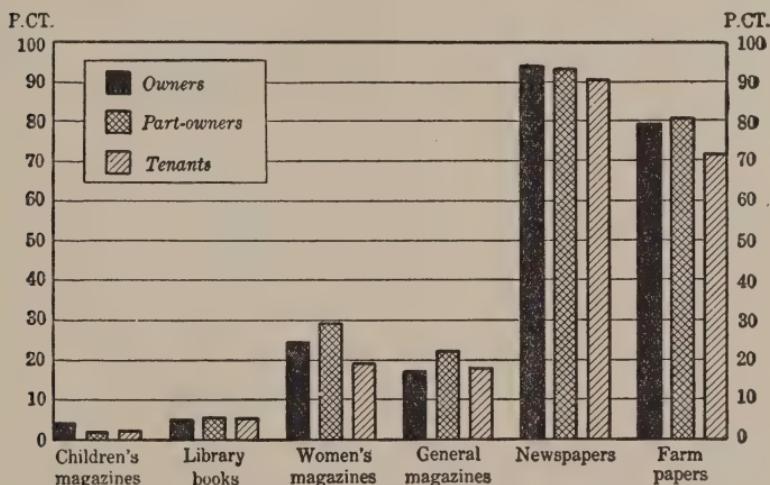


FIG. 17.—Reading Matter in Nebraska Farm Homes ²⁵

time some 40 states have established library extension through library commissions or the state departments of education.

The function of these agencies is state-wide library service through aiding the organization of local and county libraries; the improvement of established libraries; giving supplemental book service to existing libraries; and furnishing direct book service to local communities, groups, and individuals until adequate local service is instituted. This last-named service is performed through the estab-

²⁴ Rankin, J. O., "Reading Matter in Nebraska Farm Homes," p. 20, Bulletin 180, Agricultural Experiment Station, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1922.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

lishment of traveling libraries, package libraries, and direct book service to individuals.²⁶

Mr. Nason, in his valuable bulletin on rural libraries, further shows that there are several other forms of libraries used more or less by country people. Most of these are located chiefly in towns and cities. Membership-fee libraries are probably the least effective in service to rural areas. Municipal libraries are usually out of touch with rural needs. Much service may be rendered by village and town libraries when they are efficiently managed and well supported. School-district libraries are found in several states, especially in Ohio, where there are 86 such libraries.²⁷

A somewhat larger type of rural library is the township library. Mr. Nason states that there are some 475 of these in the United States, and that in populous, wealthy townships (and towns in New England) they are able to perform a good service. The county library is another type of the larger unit of library service which is meeting with increasing favor; it will be discussed in another section.

Costs of adequate library service.—The American Library Association states that "One dollar per capita of the population of the community served is a reasonable minimum annual revenue for the library in a community desiring to maintain a good modern public library system with trained librarians."²⁸ Professor Kolb,²⁹ in studies in Wisconsin, found that 4000 population is the minimum-sized group that can reasonably maintain good local library service. These estimates mean, therefore, that a local library should have an

²⁶ Nason, Wayne, C., "Rural Libraries," p. 5, *Farmers' Bulletin* No. 1559, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1928.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

²⁸ *Library Extension*, p. 24, American Library Association, Chicago, Illinois, 1926.

²⁹ Kolb, J. H., "Service Institutions for Town and Country," Agricultural Experiment Station, *Research Bulletin* 66, Madison, Wisconsin, 1925.

annual income of at least \$4000 in order to render efficient service. If this service is to reach the farmer in an effective manner, it will require the larger population bases upon which to build. Small areas like villages, school districts, and most townships will find it difficult to provide standard equipment and render a progressively efficient service.

The county library.—Tax-supported county libraries have been proposed as a means of assisting small towns and rural areas in meeting their deficiencies in library facilities. The American Library Association is making a strong plea for the establishment of such libraries. The Association states as follows concerning the county as a desirable library unit:

The county unit makes for economy and effectiveness without loss of the personal touch. The good county library has a large book stock and has worked out flexible methods of distribution to overcome obstacles of distance and isolation through a system of branches, stations, school deposits, mail service and possibly a book truck. It puts any book, anywhere in the system, at the disposal of a serious reader wherever he may live. Best of all, it commands the services of a capable librarian who visits each community and knows its needs, works with and through other county leaders and organizations, as the county agent, superintendent of schools, county nurse, the Farm Bureau or Grange, the Parent-Teacher Association. Schools are given adequate book service, small village libraries have larger resources as county branches, or through other arrangement, and can still use local interest and initiative. Thus the scattered rural folk receive a high grade of library service, comparable to that of the large city library.³⁰

The following diagram illustrates how thoroughly a county library service may be made to reach the rural residents of a county.

It has been well developed by studies of the American Library Association that only under favored conditions of wealth and population density can the smaller units of a

³⁰ *Library Extension, op. cit., p. 44.*

county maintain unaided an efficient library service. The usual western township is too small, as is the consolidated rural school district and the village and small town. The towns and villages and consolidated schools make good service stations for the county library system.

Books that travel: The county library, through a well-planned extension program, supplants the old traveling li-

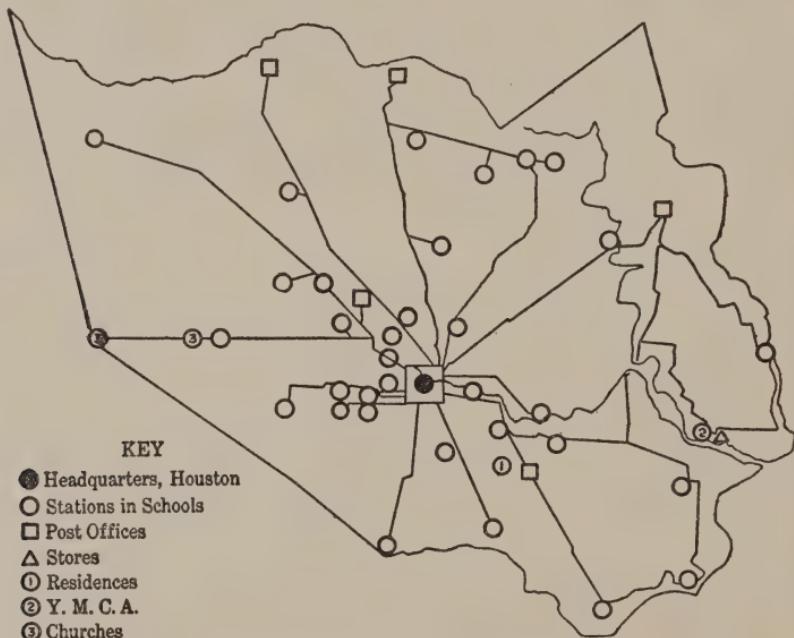


FIG. 18.—A County Library System, Harris County, Texas.³¹

brary scheme, and renders a more effective service than was ever possible by the traveling library method. Julia Wright Merrill tells us:

A "traveling library" need no longer be a box of books that comes by freight from the state capital and offers a limited range of choice. Instead, it is increasingly often a book automobile, which starts out from headquarters at the county seat and holds

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

several hundred books chosen to fit the tastes of the particular readers on that day's route.

This kind of traveling library has a traveling librarian—another advantage over the box of books. He, or often she, is a rural-minded person, who knows books thoroughly but is equally interested in people, who will remember that Mrs. Brown always wants a book of travel, that John Anderson is building a radio set and wants practical information, and that Tom Smith likes western stories better than anything else.³²

SUMMARY

The various forms of extension and adult education have increasing importance for rural communities. Rural residents are appreciating and using these channels as never before, and the ways and means of making such instruction interesting and effective are being steadily improved. There is less inclination toward and also less excuse than formerly for one's stopping his educational career at the close of his regular school work. Schools themselves receive direct aid, direction, and impetus from extension and adult education schemes. Any plan which enables the school the better to prepare its charges for life's demands, and which assists in giving it an enlightened clientele adds strength and power to its influence.

There are no adequate criteria for measuring the values obtained through enabling people to continue their education. We have long been addicted to a policy of using education as a chief solvent of social and economic problems, but never has the farmer had such valuable and extensive service along educational lines. This work has hardly more than commenced, however; we are far enough along with it, though, to glimpse the large fields of service ahead. Through still further applications and extensions of the services of schools,

³² Merrill, Julia Wright, "Books That Travel," *American Farming*, March, 1928, Kansas City, Missouri.

colleges, research stations, lectures, the press, and libraries we shall be able to give such equality of educational opportunities for all ages and groups as to place the farmer on a par with any other class of people in our society; rural educators and rural sociologists are striving towards the attainment of this end.

CHAPTER XVII

RURAL RELIGION

Some backgrounds.—The institutions and organizations of religion; and especially the church, have great sociological significance in rural affairs. Rural residents usually have taken their religion quite seriously. Their many and constant contacts with the phenomena of nature have borne in upon them a deep significance of an omnipotent Being. Williams says of the farmer that “his contact with nature made him conscious of mystery in various processes. He liked to feel that the mystery was settled by the explanation that God did it.¹” The Bible, in its symbolism, parables, and lessons deals intimately with religious, moral, and ethical questions affecting pastoral and agricultural life. Jesus drew many of his illustrations from country life conditions. There is no doubt that all of this makes a deep impression upon one living in relative social isolation and dealing with the primeval forces of nature. The philosophy and religion of the farmer tend to become tinged with animism and to reflect a direct and simple application of religious concepts. Orthodoxy has held sway in rural districts because of these factors and because of the older individualistic interpretation of religion.

Early church life.—All through colonial history the church was foremost in the lives of the people. Sunday meant a day of worship to be observed to the letter as interpreted by a strict and unflinching orthodox leadership. Self-denial

¹ Williams, J. M., “Our Rural Heritage,” p. 128; Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1925.

was a virtue to be cultivated. "The minister's favorite line was against self-indulgence and worldliness in general. He built on two principles. The first was that the only way to avoid excessive indulgence was to abstain from all indulgence. . . . The second principle was, 'you are your brother's keeper.'"² Pleasures of all sorts which were considered worldly and tempters to overindulgence were seriously frowned upon. The Scriptures were closely studied and literally interpreted.

While many of the early pioneers came to America for religious freedom, they themselves were not long in developing religious intolerance. Schisms, sects, and divisions arose and were nourished on the individualism of the times. There was little thought of unifying and co-ordinating differences in order that religious denominations might keep within reasonable numbers. The great mission of the church was personal salvation; the larger social values were lost sight of and banned as outside its realm and unworthy of its attention.

Only the most spontaneous and unorganized types of social life accompanied the church organizations. Dr. Williams further states, "There were several reasons for church attendance in addition to its significance as a ceremony of worship. For one thing it was the only occasion on which a good part of the community regularly got together. There was the enjoyment of being together, the handshaking and exchange of greetings after worship, the visiting of the women in the church and of the men outside."³ Reverend Warren H. Wilson has briefly summarized the early church for us as follows:

The church in settler days, when every one is highly individualized, is scarcely to be called an institution. Its building is a mere

² *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

roof over a pulpit. Its work consists in preaching and no more. It has no societies or organizations. The settler and pioneer would believe it wicked to organize the societies which an ordinary village church of our day thinks necessary. Among the Southern mountains, where the pioneer type, strongly individualized, remains, where every man is an independent person and every woman is a strong character, the churches have but one method of religion; namely, the periodic revival. They think the methods of the people in the valley to be wicked, unreligious, and expressive of unregenerate minds. To them Ladies' Aid societies are unspiritual, Sunday-schools are sinful, and boys' clubs are extremely worldly.⁴

Many churches.—Like the one-room rural school, the small rural church followed closely in the wake of the frontier farmer as he moved across the country. We have seen that his was chiefly a neighborhood life, so these two essential institutions—the school and the church—must also be kept close to neighborhood building. With poor roads and slow means of transportation, the church could not be located very far away from the rural homes. Churches were not organized with the frequency of schools; they did grow up in great numbers, however, in many parts of the country. On the other hand, in sections where religious demands were not strong, few or no churches developed.

On the whole, the desire for a church near at hand, and the tendency towards multiplying sectarianism led to the establishment of many separate church organizations in the country. Nor is this period past in the rural sections. Dean Vogt says, "Protestantism is still suffering from the effects of extreme individualism in religious belief."⁵

We find in the situation today that many of the later settled regions in the West and Southwest are under-churched

⁴ Wilson, W. H., "The Church of the Open Country," p. 28, Missionary Education Movement, New York, 1911. Copyright by Missionary Education Movement and used by permission.

⁵ Vogt, Paul L., "Church Co-operation in Country Life," p. 111, The Abingdon Press, New York, 1921.

and many of the older settled regions are over-churched. Changed and changing social conditions find the countryside in a state of inequality in the church field.

THE DECLINE OF THE RURAL CHURCH

A decline inevitable.—With conditions as outlined above, it was inevitable that as agriculture became stabilized, transportation improved, modern machinery released men from farms, and farmers demanded modern institutions, the rural church would feel the effects. This has been the case with the rural school. Abandoned schoolhouses testify to a re-organization that has been going on in the field of education; likewise, abandoned churches, or churches with small membership and support, testify to changed and changing social and economic conditions affecting rural religion.

Some writers have shown a degree of unwarranted alarm over this phenomenon. They fail to look deeply into the backgrounds, and they become frightened over certain outward signs of an inevitable evolution. The old type of church has become outgrown and outlived, and where it has been held unduly long in a community by some of its hard-headed devotees, it has lost membership and support. Readjustments in the rural population, through the development of better farm organization, migrations of unneeded farmers to cities and unsettled portions of the country, and smaller-sized farm families have all thinned the population in many rural areas.

Decline in numbers.—Sanderson writes concerning a survey of a typical county in New York State:

The church membership has remained practically stationary for thirty years, while the attendance has decreased from 21 per cent of the rural population in 1890 to 14 per cent in 1920. One community of 900 population had five churches, no one of which had a resident pastor or over 45 members, while two of them had but 11 members each and were closed. Six strictly rural communities

in the southern part of the county have 16 churches, though none of these places can properly support more than one church with a resident pastor. After a careful study of the whole county, I am of the opinion that if at least one-third of the rural churches were abandoned or combined, the work of the church would be greatly strengthened.⁶

The church is very sensitive to population changes. Throughout many of the central western and southern regions population changes of deep significance have been taking place. There has been decided shifting and thinning of rural population in these sections, and besides these changes, farm tenancy has been on the increase. Church support and church maintenance suffer at the hands of tenant farmers.

Professor Gillette says, "There is a general occurrence of dead and vacant churches. A few years ago it was estimated that there were 1200 vacant rural churches in Missouri, 1700 in Illinois, 600 in Tennessee; that 12 to 15 per cent of the rural churches in 12 counties of Ohio surveyed were vacant and that in the whole nation there were 10,000 vacant country churches and probably from 30,000 to 40,000 about to become vacant."⁷ Bricker, in 1919, estimated that there were about 21,000 closed or abandoned rural churches in the United States.⁸

Decline in membership and attendance.—There is an accumulating mass of evidence supporting the statement that large numbers of rural churches have been experiencing a decided decline in either membership or attendance, and, in many cases, in both membership and attendance. The church has been failing to attract and hold patrons.

Gill and Pinchot in their investigations of rural churches

⁶ Sanderson, D., "The Farmer and His Community," p. 126, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1922.

⁷ Gillette, John M., "Rural Sociology," p. 441, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922.

⁸ Bricker, G. A., "The Church in Rural America," p. 41, The Standard Press, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1919.

located in two counties of New York State, found that over a period of twenty years church membership made a slight gain, but church attendance suffered an alarming reduction. In one county, from the records of 34 churches, it was found that 9 had gained in attendance and 25 had lost. In the two counties taken together the attendance declined in proportion to the membership in 71 out of 85 churches.⁹

In McDonald County, Missouri, a study of church membership was made in 1908, 1913, and 1918. The membership of twenty-seven churches in this county had declined 4 per cent in five years and 9.8 per cent in ten years.¹⁰

Morse and Brunner in a study of 179 counties in the United States found that only about one-fifth of the rural population goes to church, and that two-fifths of all rural churches are standing still or losing ground.¹¹

In the newer sections of the country, where there is still considerable under-churching, the gains in both membership and attendance are noticeable as contrasted with the older settled sections. Further details concerning these factors will be developed in following sections.

DISORDERS OF THE RURAL CHURCH

1. Maldistribution.—Maldistribution is of no small significance in the present disorders of the rural church. As was suggested in an earlier section, poor church distribution is an heritage of a past order which demanded a church organization within easy reach of the farm home, and enough

⁹ Gill, C. O., and Pinchot, G., "The Country Church," pp. 15-20, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1913.

¹⁰ Taylor, C. C., "Rural Sociology," p. 218, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1926.

¹¹ Morse, H. N., and Brunner, E. de S., "The Town and Country Church in the United States," Geo. H. Doran Company, New York, 1923.

of them to satisfy men's many notions as to sectarianism. These policies brought about a concentration of churches in areas where the people were dominantly religiously inclined, and few or no churches where activity along these lines was weak.

It has been conservatively estimated that there are slightly over 101,000 rural churches in America, but that their distribution is such that 9 per cent of the town and country population are without the services of Protestant churches. In the churched areas there are often seen a great confusion of church jurisdictions and an unfortunate grouping of churches; sometimes four and five churches will be found located in the countryside within a stone's throw of one another. It is a common observation to find this many churches in small towns and villages. Under such conditions memberships are small, interest in the church declines, and attendance slumps. Morse and Brunner state:

The town churches generally show a large proportion of their membership classified as resident and active, and the country churches the lowest percentages. The figures are 75.7 per cent for town churches, 75.6 per cent for village churches and 67.0 per cent for the country churches. The town churches have an average net active membership of 144; the village churches of 84 and the country churches of 46. The general average is 63.¹²

2. Denominational emphasis.—This is another heritage of earlier days, and it has figured prominently in the over-churching problem. We have multiplied denominational emphasis so greatly that there are at present something over 200 different denominations in the United States.

Individuals have been encouraged in the feeling that it was their rightful privilege and prerogative to bring into the community their particular religious sect, often quite regardless of the numbers already present and of their chances of

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

normal growth and service. This emphasis upon sectarianism has caused a dissipation of well-meant effort, a division of church finances into small, ineffective sums, and a great multiplication of the general overhead expenses such as buildings, grounds and leadership costs.

Rural residents themselves are not entirely to blame for the multiplying of denominations. State and national sectarian bodies have shown an inexcusable avidity to locate new church organizations of their respective faiths regardless of how many were functioning. These bodies have shown much jealousy of one another, and through their home mission funds have been known to keep churches alive that have outlived their usefulness. Morse and Brunner say, "A considerable proportion of the aided churches are of the chronically non-productive sort."¹³ The desire for numbers and for a showing as good as, or better than, other denominations has tempted church leaders to place magnitudes above service.

3. An out-of-date program.—The church program of the pioneers of America no longer satisfies modern farming communities. Many church leaders have imposed such a program so long that the results have proved retroactive, and are evidenced in falling church attendance and interest. Religion must keep in touch with advancing social developments, and aid and assist men to higher spiritual levels through contemporaneous interpretations that appeal to modern thought.

In thousands of rural churches, both with and without resident pastoral aid, the preaching service is both the beginning and ending of the church's program for the community. Sermons alone do not constitute an adequate scheme of religious development, much less sermons which dwell upon dogma, and "hair-splitting" argument over creeds.

Gill and Pinchot report:

The country churches in Windsor and Tompkins counties (New York) are too often out of sympathy with the best prevailing re-

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 122.

ligious sentiment of the present day. In recent years a profound change has taken place in the religious thinking of the Protestant people. Whether the change represents an important advance, as the authors believe, or whether it does not, it is at least true that the churches in the two counties have lagged behind in adapting themselves to the change. . . . Men think less about dogma and more about service. This feeling the great majority of these country churches fail to realize or to assist. As a rule, their teaching is aloof from the daily interests of the people, and the application of Christian doctrine to the actual conditions of life is too often neglected.¹⁴

The resort to periodic revivals to brace up religious interest and add members to the church is indicative that the church's program from week to week and month to month is lacking in the elements that attract and hold. Dr. Gill says:

The only type of revival reported as really successful is that conducted by a pastor who continues in the field of his labor after the revival is over. But to this type, as to the others, the response of the people has been growing less and less.¹⁵

In backward rural districts the revival is often little better than a pathological type of recreation. It furnishes the occasion for large periodic gatherings of people for many of whom religious devotion is a side issue, if not a negative factor. Antics of the revivalist aimed to attract attention and stir the emotions, and questionable if not definitely harmful forms of association among certain individuals detract seriously from the true meaning of the church services and functions.

The program of the rural church too frequently lacks balance, virility, proper distribution, and objectiveness. There

¹⁴ Gill, C. O., and Pinchot, G., "The Country Church," pp. 45-46. Copyright, 1913, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

needs to be ample provision in every church program for the enlistment of all ages and groups of people. Something definite and worthwhile for them to do will assist in getting and retaining their interest. The buoyancy and spontaneity of youth also needs a chance for normal and proper expression in the church, as well as elsewhere.

4. Non-resident ministers.—The circuit rider served his time well, but his successor, the non-resident pastor, fails to have the same vital touch. The circuit rider had found his place and life-work and gloried in them, but his successor too frequently uses his place as a stepping-stone.

Morse and Brunner, in their study of 179 counties having 5552 churches and 3353 ministers, found, "Sixteen and five-tenths per cent of all churches have full-time resident ministers; 19 per cent have part-time resident ministers; 52.6 per cent have non-resident ministers; 11.9 per cent have no ministers."¹⁶

The following table shows the condition of ministerial service in 6060 rural churches in Ohio studied by Gill and Pinchot.

Thus we find in the generally prosperous agricultural state of Ohio that 66.2 per cent of the rural churches do not have the advantages of a resident minister. Twenty-six per cent of the rural churches in this survey get along with half-time ministerial service; 18.5 per cent with only one-third time service; and 16.0 per cent with only one-quarter time service of a minister. We also observe that practically 12 per cent of these Ohio churches have no regular ministerial services; they must depend upon getting at irregular periods ministers who have vacant days, itinerant ministers, and student ministers.

The non-resident minister works at a great handicap to both himself and the community. He comes to his church on Sundays, gives a preaching service, and is gone. He can

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

do little in the way of organizational work among the people. This lack of ministerial leadership is generally shown in poor church programs, weak interest, irregular attendance, and no consistent developmental policy. The vital touch between the minister and his flock is lacking; his counsel, advice, and leadership in religious affairs of the community are not available, or are only meagerly available.

TABLE 22

MINISTERIAL SERVICE IN 6060 RURAL CHURCHES IN OHIO¹⁷

<i>Ministerial Service</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
With resident minister.....	2053	33.8
Without resident minister.....	4007	66.2
With full time minister.....	982	16.2
With one-half time minister.....	1581	26.0
With one-third time minister.....	1125	18.5
With one-quarter time minister.....	970	16.0
With less than one-quarter time minister.....	629	10.7
With no regular ministerial service.....	721	11.9
Without available data.....	52	0.8
	6060	100.1

5. Poorly trained ministers.—Poor training and equipment have come to characterize the rural minister to a surprising degree. Often it is the case of a young man working his way along to a town or urban charge, or an older man who has failed to meet the competition in the urban centers. Dr. Gill says:

¹⁷ Gill, C. O., and Pinchot, G., "Six Thousand Country Churches," pp. 125-127. Copyright, 1920, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

Many a country minister has been so poorly educated that his ability is limited to the championing of his own denominational peculiarities of belief, while he lacks the power to set forth and discuss the fundamental truths which underlie the whole structure of the church.¹⁸

The situation in the rural religious field has become similar to that which relates to farms and farmers. Poor equipment, meager rewards, and small units of service have tended to attract men of small capacity and insufficient training; these men in turn tend to perpetuate such conditions. A vicious circle becomes established in either case which requires considerable constructive and dynamic effort to break it up. Marginal ministers and marginal farmers do little within themselves to improve their contributions to society. Illuminating surveys have shown the salary of the average country minister to be less than a modest living wage.

Churches that enjoy the full time of a pastor pay, on the average, \$999.62 toward his support, in which sum is included the rental value of the parsonage. Churches which have a resident minister, but share him with neighboring stations, average \$616 toward his support, the outlying churches contributing the rest of the salary. The average church with a non-resident minister gives only \$193 a year to its ministry. These averages are contributions to salary per church. They do not include home mission grants.¹⁹

Many rural people recognize the smallness of the rural minister's salary and seek to supplement it through donations of various kinds. These donations are useful and help satisfy a spirit of liberalism on the part of givers, but they represent a poor means of trying to increase the purchasing power of one in a professional field. The minister has need of money for maintaining his connections with his theological societies,

¹⁸ Gill, C. O., and Pinchot, G., "The Country Church," *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹⁹ Morse, H. N., and Brunner, E. de S., *op. cit.*, p. 144.

for books and magazines, for travel, vacation, and for a regular and consistent use for his family. Intermittent and irregular donations of food products, gifts, and the like do not meet the real need.

A country minister, however well-trained he may be, cannot do his proper work or do it properly if he is non-resident. His position of leadership is dwarfed by virtue of his separation from his followers; hence he is at a handicap for which he cannot be blamed.

6. Poor attendance and poor physical plants.—We have seen in the section on the Decline of the Rural Church that membership and attendance have been shrinking in many rural churches throughout America. We shall endeavor here to assess the status of this condition as it seems to be at present.

The psychology of numbers is as vital to the rural church as it is to other institutions and organizations of men. The stimulus of normal, thrifty group action is a great incentive to renewed effort and achievement in church affairs. The proper size of the group is always a subject of variation according to the work to be done and details of organization. Rural church surveys have generally shown, however, that one of the concomitants of weak churches is small membership and small attendance. Dr. Gill in his Ohio surveys has found that memberships of fewer than 100 persons usually mean declining churches. His studies show that 66 per cent of the rural churches examined by him in Ohio had 100 members or less; 55 per cent had 75 members or less, and 37 per cent had 50 members or less. It becomes well-nigh impossible for such small memberships to build and sustain modern, commodious church houses. As a result the old, box-like, uncomfortable, and poorly equipped rural church building is carried along from generation to generation, proving less and less attractive to both young and old.

The following table relating to membership and attendance

in six rural churches of Ohio selected at random out of 6000 studied by Gill shows marked discrepancy between these two factors.

TABLE 23

MEMBERSHIP AND ATTENDANCE IN SIX OHIO RURAL CHURCHES²⁰

<i>Members</i>	<i>Average Attendance</i>
125	34
300	136
173	30-40
150	Less than 30
300	40
1048	270

In this table we see that out of a total membership of 1048 persons in these six churches there was an average attendance of only 270 persons, or 25.7 per cent of the membership. This is manifestly too small to maintain the proper interest in and support of the church.

Taylor and Yoder, in the State of Washington, have shown what becomes of some rural churches when they dwindle in support. In their studies in southeastern Washington they found that

Formerly there were many more open country churches. . . . The automobile and good roads tend to send the farmer to town to worship. There he has more choice, better music and sermons, but he loses much of the face-to-face contact with his neighbors that the little open country church provided. . . .

The rural church is weak and reaches a limited number of people. A large proportion of farmers are not attached to any church.²¹

²⁰ Gill, C. O., and Pinchot, G., "Six Thousand Country Churches," p. 9. Copyright, 1920, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

²¹ Taylor, E. A., and Yoder, F. R., *Rural Social Organization in Whitman County*, pp. 22 and 47, *Bulletin No. 202, Agricultural Experiment Station, Pullman, Washington*, 1926.

An analysis of the membership lists of rural churches will generally show a surprising dearth of young people; little is done to attract and hold them.

NEEDS OF THE RURAL CHURCH FOR EFFECTIVE PRESENT-DAY FUNCTIONING

The real function of the church.—Truly it has been said, “Man does not live by bread alone.” Men in all ages have shown their interest in and desire for things beyond the compass of the economic; one of the most profound and significant of these manifestations is the reaching out for an interpretation of life in terms of a supreme Being. The institutions, the individuals, the creeds and formulas which have aided in this understanding have been reverenced and given strategic places in society. The nearer these agencies of religion have come to meeting life’s demands in various directions, the more useful and satisfying they have been. The supreme function of the rural church, as with the church in urban districts, is to give an intimate understanding of the kingdom of God in all of its true meaning to contemporary life. It cannot perform this function in a satisfying manner unless it has the tools and equipment with which to work.

1. Redistribution of rural church organizations.—There is probably no other single factor of as far-reaching importance as this one of redistribution. It lies close to the heart of rural church problems. Some years ago the Inter-church World Movement was commencing to attack this phase of the rural church problem; if the movement had not met an untimely ending, something worthwhile in the way of a demonstration might have been forthcoming.

We need to give as careful study and planning to the questions of locating and relocating church organizations as we are giving to locating and relocating rural schools. Such a distribution of churches needs to be made that every organiza-

tion may be assured of a group of loyal members sufficient in size, wealth, and homogeneous interests to maintain a church in an efficient manner. These factors will necessarily vary under varying economic and social conditions. But like similar questions concerning the consolidation of schools, the building of sizable and serviceable towns, libraries, hospitals and other service institutions, organizations, and agencies, minima in certain definite factors and requirements can be fairly well determined. We have seen that surveys of rural churches indicate that a membership of fewer than 100 persons generally means inefficient church work. Most students would place the minimum requirements on this score at around 250 members. Sufficient finances must also be available among the membership to equip and maintain modern buildings, carry on organizational life, and pay a salary that will attract and hold a competent minister in resident-service.

(a) *Inter-denominational co-operation:* A co-operation between denominations that will bring about a plan of respecting the real capacity of the country areas to support a live church is much needed. It takes a magnanimous spirit for denominations to resign this or that field to a sister denomination, but surely churches can be magnanimous. A suggestive program along these lines has been given by Dean Vogt,²² as follows:

In working out a program of inter-denominational adjustment the following plan has been tried with success on at least three Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference districts.

(1) A survey of the district and the preparation of a map showing the location of all churches, residence of all pastors, circuit systems, and whether the churches are located in villages or the open country.

(2) Separate lists are then made of cases of apparent competitive relations with each denomination.

²² Vogt, Paul L., "Church Cooperation in Community Life," *op. cit.*, pp. 130-132.

(3) Conferences are then called with representatives of each denomination to consider the problems of competition between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the particular denomination with which the conference is called.

(4) After tentative plans have been adopted representatives of both denominations visit the local field together, confer with the churches concerned, and arrive at some agreement as to adjustments to be made.

(5) This method is followed with each denomination, separately, with which Methodism has competitive relations.

This plan has been tried with success in the State of Vermont, where Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists had to co-operate or abandon the field; in the Portsmouth district, Ohio Conference, where the principal problems were with the Presbyterians, United Brethren, and Baptists; in Montana, where a conference was held to consider adjustments affecting an entire State; and in the Wooster District, North-East Ohio Conference, where adjustment of relationship is proceeding satisfactorily.

That this plan carried on throughout the whole country would result in removing a great many of the rural church's ills there can be little doubt. One important point about it is the initiation of such ideals by church leaders in state and national bodies. If we can get greater unselfishness in such bodies, we shall be able to do a great deal more with the local communities.

It has been shown that the plans as worked out above have been productive of many reforms, some of which are as follows:

(1) The increase in salary of rural ministers made possible by uniting the financial resources of all religious forces in the community.

(2) Saving of missionary money by eliminating duplication of missionary grants by competing denominations.

(3) A marked increase in membership and church attendance.

(4) A more vital relationship of the church to community wel-

fare through unified action of all religious forces under the trained leadership of one pastor.

(5) Resident pastorates to more communities through better distribution of pastoral residences of the denominations concerned in adjustments made.

(6) A more vital appeal to life service in rural work can now be made to young people who have objected to service in rural charges where efforts at community service have been handicapped and even nullified by the presence of competing religious organizations and pastors.²³

Surely such plans and their results are worth all the effort they cost; they automatically remove many of the problems of over-churching, and give new life to religious organization.

(b) *United churches*: Another valuable plan in the re-distribution of church efforts is that found in some form of church union or merging. These are usually designated as follows:

- (1) Federated Churches.
- (2) Community Churches (undenominational).
- (3) Affiliating Churches (denominational).

The federated church is the result of a pooling of equipment, in the way of buildings, budgets, and the like, by two or more different denominations. They join members but retain their denominational rights and privileges. A joint board manages the affairs of the church. The necessary connectional arrangements with state and national bodies are usually weak because of this divided local representation and responsibility.

Considerable community interest has grown up about many of the federated churches, and they seem to have met the church problem for their respective communities. Certainly a spirit of tolerance and understanding is fostered which is one of the first steps towards better church service. Miss

²³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 132-33.

Hooker²⁴ reports in her book on "United Churches" that there are 312 so-called federated churches in the United States.

The undenominational community church, as the name suggests, is without denominational significance and has no connectional relations with the regular state and national bodies. It is simply a church of the whole people and corresponds in idea more nearly to a consolidated school; it rests entirely upon the local community. Miss Hooker states there are 137 of these churches in the United States. She further shows that:

Among the types of United Churches, however, undenominational churches in town and country—ranked comparatively low, when judged by the usual tests. The undenominational church, moreover, though the form of union most easily adopted by local people, showed in rarer instances the ability to survive as an efficient organization.²⁵

The denominational united church results when several denominations unite and affiliate their work.

The term "denominational united church"—signifies a church, connected with a single denominational body, that has definitely undertaken or had allocated to it responsibility for the religious needs of a public not confined to one denominational group, and that includes in its membership—whether regular or associate-elements of different denominational origins.²⁶

Sometimes there appears what may be termed the affiliated church which, as Miss Hooker says, "is related to a denominational body for certain specific purposes, but independent of it in all other respects."²⁷

²⁴ Hooker, E. R., "United Churches," Geo. H. Doran and Company, New York, 1926.

²⁵ *Rural America*, p. 15, March, 1927, The American Country Life Association, New York.

²⁶ Hooker, E. R., *ibid.*, p. 80.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

There have been reported 528 of the denominational united and affiliated churches in the northern part of the United States where studies have been made of them.

As a general proposition united churches of whatever sort are found mostly in small centers of population. Since 1910 these types of churches have been developing quite rapidly. The Congregational, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian in the U. S. A., and Northern Baptist denominations all have been showing rather marked activity along these lines. As a general rule the united churches rank higher than others as to church support, membership, attendance, minister's salary, and many other features showing church efficiency.

It is felt by students of church affairs that the united churches will eventually need more effective connections with state and national bodies; that some form of inter-denominational agency will need to be built up that will give them the many benefits that flow from state and national connectional groups.

These are valuable movements looking towards forming more comprehensive church units for rural districts. They constitute an important part of the program of solving the rural church problem.

2. A broad and liberal church program.—The rural church has a large field to cover; it also has a unique field. Unlike conditions in urban centers, where there are many organizations and institutional aids, the rural church must still engage in much direct work with the individual; at the same time it has the duty of teaching organizational activity. The program of service must include the wholeness of rural life.

In a successful small town church in Louisiana, studied by the author, the following ideals of church service were given by its minister. "The reason for the church entering the program such as we have was simply our seeing the need of such a program. I spent several years as an evangelist

traveling over the entire South, and observed the need along the line established here. It has been our plan to give all that is necessary for the development of the three-fold person, physical, mental, and spiritual.

"I will mention first that which is strictly religious. Of course, we have our preaching services, and then we have a well-organized Sunday School and Young People's Work. . . . A record is kept of each pupil from the youngest to the oldest. A copy is given the pupil exactly as they do in high school and in college."²⁸

In this church there is a membership of 650 adults and 200 juniors; the Sunday school work is divided into 7 departments. Besides these departments, the social and physical departments enroll and hold the young people as nothing else does. The church building is thoroughly modern and completely equipped. All the finances for the church have come out of a moderately well-to-do agricultural community.

The minister, in further describing the activity of his church, relates:

In our physical and social department, we have a very large, well-furnished, equipped and lighted club room located on the ground floor of our church annex. We have, also, a natatorium, a number of hot and cold shower baths, and several nice individual dressing rooms. We have on the third floor of this building a splendid gymnasium, also a kitchen, and a large dining room.

All the things mentioned are owned and operated by the church free to everyone regardless of faith or creed, and for the parish as well as for the town.

All the pool rooms downtown were compelled to close for lack of patronage. Every boy and young man in the town, with the exception of four or five, who once frequented such a place as a pool room, are now members of some church. . . .

Our social meetings are grouped, each having a leader. They

²⁸ Hayes, Augustus W., "Examples of Community Enterprises in Louisiana," p. 29, *Research Bulletin*, No. 3, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1923.

are so arranged that each group will have at least one social meeting a month. Of course, during the winter months, these meetings are held in the social rooms of the church, which are very adequate. The "eats" are furnished by our own kitchen, and are paid for by the church.

In the summer months, we have well-arranged, well-chaperoned parties, watermelon cuttings, and picnies. We also have story-telling hours on hillside and lawn. We are fortunate in having a number of leaders who can get this part of the program over in a great way.²⁹

The chief purpose in here listing the details of the activities of this town-country church in Louisiana is to illustrate the many joint activities in which some successful rural churches engage in rendering religious service to their communities. This church's program emphasizes the social side of religious instruction and leadership. All rural churches have a large field of service along these lines.

The radio is coming to occupy a large place in rural homes as a means of religious worship. Recent surveys in North Carolina, Iowa, and elsewhere have shown that many farm families with radio sets constantly receive Sunday service programs. These are naturally sent out from the larger centers; they carry better sermons and music than most of the local churches can furnish, but may often fail to give the farmer a sermon that fits the religious problems of rural life. They also do not provide the social contacts afforded by attending church. The radio is valuable, however, in enlarging the range of the farmer's church services, and in providing such services for isolated rural homes and unchurched districts.

3. Trained resident ministers.—The rural minister cannot render proper service unless he is resident among his people. His training needs to be for his special field. Not only should he be well versed in the subject material of a

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 30-33.

strictly theological course, but in addition he needs to know the sociology of rural life. The rural minister, whether reared on a farm or in the city, needs a practical knowledge of the processes of the farm and of the economic problems of farm life. He will generally find it valuable to attend short courses for farmers and farm leaders held at the state agricultural colleges.

The theological seminaries are showing a keen interest in providing training for rural ministers. This is a phase of their work that has been almost wholly neglected until recent years. The harmful effects of such neglect are traceable throughout the rural church field. A leadership that has received a training that was oblivious of the peculiar problems it was to meet was bound to encounter and to create obstacles vital to the life and success of the rural church. Only the most resourceful and generative types of rural church leaders have been able to overcome the handicaps.

The new type of training offered for those entering rural work is intended to provide for a dynamic and constructive life service in the country. It seeks to give a background in the social sciences, and especially rural sociology, psychology, and leadership studies. The seminaries are also more fully recognizing the value of a knowledge of the physical and biological sciences.

Live, progressive, resourceful urban ministers keep themselves abreast of the social and economic developments of their environments. They scan the pages of trade journals as well as their own professional journals; they sit on different civic and social committees; and in many other ways they make themselves thoroughly conversant with the life and problems of their membership. So it must be with the successful rural minister in his relations to rural life and rural industry.

4. Modern buildings and equipment.—It probably is quite obvious to the reader that an efficiently constructed plant is necessary if the church of today is to meet the large field

of service it is called upon to enter. The example of the Louisiana church, which has just been given, shows how thoroughly a commodious church building may be utilized, and the many lines of service such a building may place at the command of religious groups. Social gatherings of different sorts may conveniently use the church building. There should be sufficient room space for separate classes for Sunday school and church organization meetings. A modern church building set in beautiful surroundings is a constant source of pride and an open invitation to people to come and enjoy it.

5. A new understanding of its field of service.—In many rural churches of the older type there is a resistance offered towards branching out along the lines mentioned above. The day is at hand, however, when the church is faced with the task of enlarging its conception of its field of service or losing out completely in maintaining its hold and strength.

The church is an outstanding institution in helping to teach social ideals, moral and ethical values in the everyday life of the people. It needs to get hold of its people in every legitimate way it can in order to impart this instruction in as telling a manner as possible. The church, therefore, must have a social vision, a dynamic, militant leadership, and a broad program of service reaching every member in the community.

THE CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

The Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.C.A. are important national organizations which have been rendering valuable service in small towns and rural areas. The latter is the larger of the two and has a wider-flung organization, but both organizations need to undergo considerable expansion and more specific application if they are to serve in the rural field as well as they have been serving in the urban field.

The rural and small town work is usually carried on through a county secretary. Sustaining the secretary and his or her work is an elected board of about fifteen people who represent various callings within the county. The secretary works in conjunction with schools, churches, parent-teacher associations, and other groups in the county. He seeks, through the formation of local bodies of young people, to carry out a rather informal program of Christian leadership through instruction and recreation. These associations are of great value in reaching young people in a most natural and normal sort of manner. They are democratic in character and wholesomely human in their contacts. From the first these Christian associations have been emphasizing the development of the whole person—the physical, spiritual, moral, and mental. Denominational and creedal differences which separate older folk, but which have little weight with youth, have no place in the Christian association programs. A considerable development of these associations throughout the countryside would give us within a few generations a group of church leaders who would quibble much less than is the case at present over denominational prestiges.

Because of their unselfish platform the Christian associations may frequently be the only Christian organizations that can function efficiently in a community. In this respect they have a peculiar advantage that acts as a saving grace for the people. An example of this kind of service is that of the Konnarock Christian Association in Virginia. Professor Wilson Gee says of it:

Konnarock is a lumbering town which sprang on the map in 1907, and by 1910, census reports showed it to have a population of 600. Naturally, towns of this size are little more than rural communities and have a serious organization problem confronting them. What kind of community organization would most satisfactorily weld such a group of people into a strong body, having no friction in the vulnerable spot of most small towns, namely, church

questions, and which would concentrate the energy and finances toward a common goal such as would be impossible if the people were divided? This in short was the situation which had to be met at Konnarock, and which gave rise to the Konnarock Christian Association.³⁰

This Christian association is given a broader interpretation and work than is generally the case with organizations of such a type. It is said to be of a community-type nature, and for the purpose of "financing and directing such activities as the church, the public school, the boys' and girls' clubs, the mothers' club and any other work that is necessary in the community."³¹

The development of various socio-religious organizations, such as the Y.W.C.A., Y.M.C.A., Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, missionary societies, Christian Endeavor, etc., are of great value to the religious life of rural areas. Most of them make a strong appeal to young people. Through the right use of the organizations and of their appeal the formal institutions of religion may be strengthened and greatly enlarged in their services. This kind of program is a direct reversal of the religious plans of pioneer days, but it is in direct accordance with modern social thinking and social progress.

SUMMARY

The most significant fact that we obtain from a study of rural religion is that the rural church in America is undergoing a transformation. During such a change it is an easy matter to misunderstand and to misinterpret certain manifestations and tendencies. This frequently has been the case relative to the decline in numbers, in attendance, support, and interest in rural churches. These factors are all indica-

³⁰ Gee, Wilson, "Some of the Best Things in Rural Virginia," p. 21, *Bulletin*, Vol. X, No. 9, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1926.

³¹ *Ibid.*

tive of deep-lying causes, which when analyzed show that the old type of church and religious service have been unduly projected into new conditions and circumstances.

The farmer is now demanding a socialized religion, but like many of his other institutions, the church has been slow to heed this demand and he has been without the knowledge and means to enforce it. Luckily for rural religion, as has been the case with the rural school, the field is not a blank. Innovations, experiments and modern developments have been taking place, here and there. Many of these point the way towards solutions of rural church problems. Redistribution of church parishes, larger church parishes, trained resident leadership, modern church buildings and church programs, better national church and inter-church leadership and co-operation, and better town and country relationships are some of the important factors needing greater application and use.

The problems of rural religion are misinterpreted if they are taken to mean the centering of all farmers' churches in towns and villages. Such a movement will go on to advantage in a large number of cases, but certainly there is a unique field in contemporary rural life for a certain number of open-country churches. The problems are again misinterpreted if it is meant that all farmers' churches must be subsidized by some state or national agency. Methods of helping weak churches, which are placed in districts where they are needed, will be employed, the same as is the case with certain rural schools, but fundamentally the author is convinced that the farmer will support good churches. Farmers will develop such churches as the knowledge of modern objectives is disseminated and inculcated by leaders and organizations. Rural religion has long been a sufferer from inattention from modern thought and practice. It is beginning to take stock and to face about for a realignment of forces and for a new direction of services.

CHAPTER XVIII

RURAL SOCIAL PATHOLOGY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

Introduction.—The unadjustments and maladjustments in rural life have seldom been sufficiently identified, studied, and related to rural welfare. A blind optimism has often prevailed regarding rural social pathological questions which has prevented our reaching to the bottom of many fundamental problems in rural society. Social agencies in cities have probably been the first to call our attention to the seriousness of rural social pathological questions. In numerous instances the ultimate sources of some of the outstanding cases coming before urban social workers have been traceable to rural or small town origins. Cities have received an undue share of maladjusted individuals from the country, largely because they contain agencies to care for them, and because of the ease with which individuals may lose or hide their true identities in urban areas.

POVERTY AND PAUPERISM IN RURAL AREAS

Definitions.—Gillin says, “*Poverty* is that condition of living in which a person either because of inadequate income or unwise expenditure, does not maintain a standard of living high enough to provide for the physical and mental efficiency of himself and to enable him and his natural dependents to function usefully according to the standards of the society of which he is a member.”¹ And that “*Pauperism* is that condition of life in which one depends upon someone

¹ Gillin, J. L., “Poverty and Dependency,” p. 24, The Century Company, New York, 1926.

else than his natural or legal supporter for his sustenance either in whole or in part."²

We see by these definitions that poverty and pauperism represent different states or conditions of life, and that they are relative to time and place. They indicate lowered social efficiency and are usually concomitants of trains of social ills. Pauperism is a lower stage than poverty *per se*. Pauperism means a state of dependency, whether in part or in whole, willing or unwilling, temporary or permanent, private or public. Poverty, on the other hand, means a less helpless state than pauperism, but a state in which the individual is not functioning up to normal because of too small an income or an unwise use of his income.

Frequency of rural poverty and pauperism.—Data relating to the extent of rural poverty and pauperism are not available. Few definite studies have been made of these conditions in rural districts. The records of almshouses and relief agencies are not sufficiently complete to give us much light on the matter. Rural social surveys have generally ignored these factors in their true proportions.

Two of our most reliable studies of urban poverty were those made by Rowntree and Booth in England during the latter part of the last century. Rowntree found that 27.84 per cent of the population of York was in a condition of poverty, and Booth found 30.7 per cent of the population of London in a like condition. Many estimates of the amount of poverty in America have been made since Booth's and Rowntree's studies in England, but no comprehensive analyses have been made available. Estimates which have been made by students of the problem give a range varying all the way from 4 per cent to about 50 per cent of the population. Parmelee has stated that "at least one-half and probably more of the families of this country are in a state of poverty."³

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

³ Parmelee, M., "Poverty and Social Progress," p. 93, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1916.

Conservative authorities are now generally placing the extent of our poverty between 15 per cent and 25 per cent of our whole population. These estimates do not bring us very close to the strictly rural poverty problem. It is generally conceded that there is less poverty in rural areas than in urban areas, but on this point no one has definite facts.

Our figures for pauperism are hardly more definite than are those for poverty. In England figures kept by the Government in 1925 showed a rate of 3.11 per cent pauperism for that year for the entire population of England. In America the Russell Sage Foundation found a pauperism rate of 2.8 per cent in 1912 in Springfield, Illinois. Studies of reports in Indiana showed about 3.8 per cent of the total population in 1916 recipients of charity. In New York State it has been rather closely estimated that 2.33 per cent of the population of the state received relief in 1911.

Professor Gillette would place the number of paupers in rural districts at a figure "considerably less than 23.7 per cent of those classed as almshouse dependents."⁴ There are now approximately 85,889 inmates in almshouses in the United States. If we took 20 per cent of this number as the contribution from rural areas, it would give 17,777 rural paupers. These would give us a significantly low ratio of pauperism for rural areas. Professor Gillette feels that most of the rural paupers gravitate to the almshouse. There are good reasons to believe that many also find their way to pauper relief by going to cities where there are various social work agencies. Until we have definite studies of the extent of pauperism in rural districts, we cannot make very safe general estimates.

Studies and observations of rural life conditions.—Studies of incomes and expenditures and of general standards of life, which are now being made in rural areas, are revealing of the

⁴ Gillette, J. M., "Rural Sociology," p. 113, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

conditions of living. When more of these cover completely every farm home in an appreciable-sized area, we shall have more definite figures upon which to base judgments. Net farm incomes in the minus column, or with a very small gain, often mean much pinching, saving, and denying on the part of the farm family in order to make ends meet. The adoption of a lower standard of living to prevent a debt from consuming the farm, and all hands, including women and children, working hard and long at the tasks of winning a living out of the soil are far too common in many rural districts to lead one to feel that poverty is not showing its hand in rural areas.

Ray Stannard Baker says of some parts of the South:

Most of the tenants, especially the Negroes, are very poor, and wholly dependent upon the landlord. Many Negro families possess practically nothing of their own, save their ragged clothing, and a few dollars' worth of household furniture, cooking utensils and a gun. The landlord must, therefore, supply them not only with enough to live on while they are making their crop, but with the entire farming outfit. . . .

Life for the tenants is often not a pleasant thing to contemplate. I spent much time driving about the great plantations and went into many of the cabins. Usually they are very poor, of logs or shacks, sometimes only one room, sometimes a room and a sort of lean-to. At one side was a fireplace, often two beds opposite, with a few broken chairs or boxes, and a table. Sometimes the cabin was set up on posts and had a floor, sometimes it was on the ground and had no floor at all. The people are usually densely ignorant and superstitious; the preachers they follow are often the worst sort of characters, dishonest, and immoral; the schools, if there are any, are practically worthless. The whole family works from sunrise to sunset in the fields. Even children of six and seven years old will drop seed or carry water.⁵

⁵ Baker, Ray Stannard, "Following the Color Line," quoted from Bizzell, W. B., "Farm Tenantry in the United States," pp. 264-66, *Bulletin 278*, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, College Station, Texas, 1921.

Here we have been given a view of rural poverty the extent of which no one knows. That it is fairly widespread is attested by localized studies and observations made in various sections of the South. Studies made by Dr. E. C. Branson in North Carolina have shown deplorable conditions among some of the poorer negro and white families of that state.

Reverend John C. Campbell, in his "Southern Highlander and His Homeland," gives us almost the same kind of description for some of the poverty of the Highlands. He says the people of the Highlands may be divided into three broad classes. In the first are the urban or near-urban, which in the 1910 census comprised 1,098,349 people. In the second group he places the more or less prosperous farmers, and in the third group are the poor rural folks. Four million people are found in the last two groups, the second group containing the larger proportion, however.

In reference to the third group, Mr. Campbell says:

One hesitates to portray these homes which have been described with so free a pen in literature and "missionary" tracts, the more so because there is such great variety in them. The best, which shade imperceptibly into those of the second class, show evidences merely of a picturesque poverty. The poorest are, in their sordid dirt, confusion, and lack of all comforts unrelieved save by the beauty of their surroundings. In some the fireplace is still the only means of cooking, and the food in quantity, variety, and preparation is much inferior to that found in even the most modest homes of the second class. Among the very poor, cooking dishes are at times almost entirely wanting, the same utensil being used again and again for numerous household purposes. The only furniture of which there is a generous supply is beds, three or even four being not uncommon in one room.⁶

One would be able to find conditions similar to those given above in various sections of the country. They are generally

⁶ Campbell, John C., "The Southern Highlander and His Homeland," pp. 88-89, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1921.

more numerous in poor soil belts than in good soil belts. In the absence of accurate data as to the extent of poverty in rural homes and as to the number of rural homes in the poverty group, it is impossible to make definite statements concerning rural poverty problems. With farm tenancy spreading rapidly throughout our better soil regions, we have some concern relative to the resulting effects upon farmers and their standards of life. Tenancy means that the returns from the land have to be divided between two parties—the landowner and the tenant. It frequently becomes a real problem to prevent one or the other from falling into a lowered efficiency position; the one usually coming to this state is the tenant.

Some causative factors of rural poverty.—Briefly and somewhat categorically we may list the following causative factors as productive of rural poverty:

1. Lack of native endowments and a distaste for farming.
2. Loss of health or sight, or other incapacity brought about through disease, accident, or heredity.
3. Pestilences, such as insect pests and fungus diseases, which affect plants and animals.
4. Natural cataclysms, such as drouths, floods, hail, and destructive storms.
5. Poor and inhospitable soils.
6. Type of farming not adapted to the climate and rainfall.
7. Poor markets and overproduction.

Some results of rural poverty.—*Education:* Perhaps the most depressing result of poverty relates to inadequate education. In the poverty-ridden sections of the country school support and school attendance are poor. Children are kept out of school because they have to help make a living, or because they do not have decent clothes to wear. Often the children are undernourished or diseased, which contributes to their becoming backward in their studies and discouraged in their school work. Higher education is practically out of the ques-

tion for people in a state of poverty. The deprivations in matters of recreation, stimulating contacts, and art are almost totally lacking. Our chief aids in rising to higher and better levels in life are through education and desirable social contacts, but with both of these seriously hampered the lot of the individual becomes truly grave, if not well-nigh hopeless.

Bad housing: Poor house construction, insufficient room space, poor lighting and ventilation, and the lack of home conveniences are associated with poverty; these tend to lower one's respect for self and home. About one and one-half rooms per person are said to constitute the minimum room space for good housing plans. This standard is far from being realized in many rural homes as we shall see in Table 29 in Chapter XIX, which relates to a sanitation survey of 15 counties in the United States. Sometimes the scarcity of lumber and the costs of good house construction cause the poor to get along with makeshift houses. Many of these are to be seen as sod houses and adobe houses of the West and Southwest; also tarpaper houses, shanties, and crude log houses found in various parts of the country.

Insanitary conditions: In many homes of the poverty-stricken of rural districts sanitation arrangements are of the poorest kind. A more definite treatment of sanitation and health factors will be given in Chapter XIX, but suffice it to state here that with a little thought and planning much could be done to improve the home conditions of even the poorest families in rural districts; ignorance and lethargy are too often the decisive forces standing in the way.

Unwholesome food: Tugwell, et al., in writing of rural poverty, state:

Food is almost certain to be poor in quality and limited in variety, a few coarse items endlessly repeated. Locally grown foods cannot be supplemented by expensive articles imported from other regions.⁷

⁷ Tugwell, R. G., et al., "American Economic Life," p. 16, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1925.

A study of home conditions in a Kentucky blue grass county of average farming conditions has been made by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. The following figure illustrates some of the factors relating to nourishment of the farm families involved in this study:

Group A in the figure includes those families whose ability to provide adequate food, shelter, and clothing could not be doubted. Group B includes those families less able to provide for themselves, and Group C, those families who are unques-

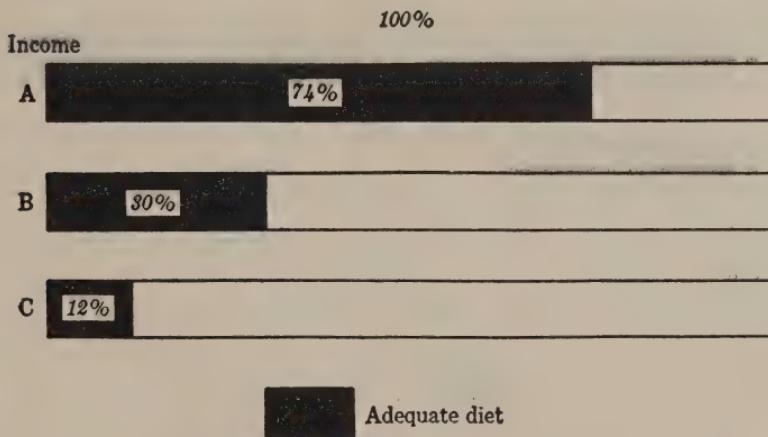


FIG. 19.—Adequacy of Diet in Relation to Income⁸

tionably poor. Two hundred and fifty-six children between the ages of 2 and 11 years were examined for indications of inadequate diet. Such examinations gave the data for the figure. We see here the sub-standard conditions as to diet that the poor in rural districts adopt.

Inadequate clothing: The rural poor suffer from insufficient clothing. This tends to render them self-conscious, to make them aloof from strangers, and to keep children from going to school. The results are dwarfed lives, provincialism,

⁸ Roberts, Lydia, "The Nutrition and Care of Children in a Mountain County of Kentucky," p. 30, *Bureau Publication 110*, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1922.

and physical and mental suffering. The following figure, taken from the above-mentioned Children's Bureau study, is indicative of the problem of insufficient clothing under conditions of rural poverty.

Women's and children's work: On the farms of the poverty class heavy work-burdens fall upon the women and children. Children have to remain out of school, work at tasks that often are beyond their normal capacities, and deny themselves

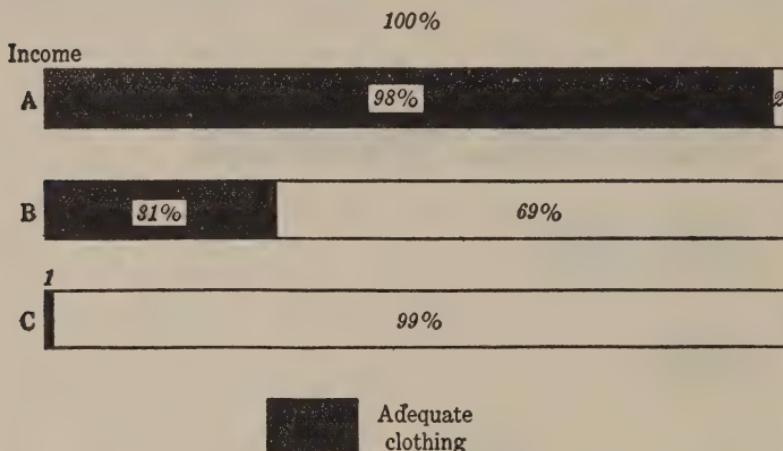


FIG. 20.—Clothing in Relation to Income.⁹

play and recreation. Women carry equally heavy burdens, and not infrequently have relatively large families of children to help rear. The families of the rural poor have no surplus for expert medical advice and attention, and as a consequence they resort a great deal to the use of patent medicines and nostrums in cases of sickness.

MEASURES OF RELIEF FOR RURAL POVERTY AND PAUPERISM

Instituting adequate measures of prevention is the first and most fundamental approach to handling the problems of poverty, but we find it difficult to perfect such measures sufficiently to halt the development of all cases.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

Paupers are publicly provided for in almshouses if adequate systems of private or public outdoor relief are not available. In some states good work has been started in public outdoor relief for persons in rural districts. Ohio, Indiana, and many other central states base their work of such kind upon the township, and use the township trustee or supervisor as the supervisor of public relief. In New England overseers of the poor are appointed by the towns. In practically all of the states, however, much remains to be done in the way of prevention measures, and in the ways of providing well-trained officials and social workers.

Most of the almshouses of the country are archaic if not vicious in their methods of caring for the poor. Many paupers rightly look upon them as places of last resort. Instead of being homes for the aged and infirm poor they are too frequently catch-alls for diseased, defective, disreputable characters. They need better management, more attention from society, and larger units of territory from which to draw a selected class of poor.

The following are some of the agencies available in most states for the care of the poor and dependent classes:

Official agencies:

- Almshouses
- Systems of outdoor relief
- Homes for dependent children
- State boards of control or of welfare
- State and local institutions for the deaf, dumb, blind, and crippled
- Charity hospitals

Voluntary agencies:

- Homes for the aged
- Home-finding societies for children
- Associations for organizing family welfare work
- Private and religious charities
- The Salvation Army

Most of these groups have headquarters in cities and do their principal work there. One of the problems of social welfare work is to get as good services along these lines extended to rural districts as urban districts now enjoy. Many of these factors will be discussed later in the chapter.

THE DEFECTIVE CLASSES

The defective classes are usually made to include all of those individuals suffering from such unsound conditions of mind or body as to render them unable to function efficiently in a normal society. Within this group are such classes as the deaf, blind, insane, epileptic, feeble-minded, and crippled.

The deaf.—According to the 1920 census there were 45,000 deaf persons in the United States. We do not know how many of these are rural residents, but it is quite safe to assume that the country has its proportionate share. This seems logical in view of the fact that about one-fourth of all deafness is attributable to middle ear affections. Many of these affections arise from fevers, measles, typhoid fever, and meningitis. The country districts usually have a full share of these diseases.

Deafness is not so serious a handicap in farming as in many other occupations. It does, nevertheless, tend to stamp one with timidity and an exclusive attitude not conducive to a social existence. It is likely to be a retarding influence in gaining an education and in prosecuting to completion one's life possibilities. Greater precaution in the control of children's diseases, in the treatment of colds, and in the intermarriage among congenitally deaf will all help to reduce the numbers of the deaf.

The blind.—In 1920, 52,500 blind persons were reported in the United States, of which 900 were said to be engaged in agriculture. Some 34,000 of the blind were 45 years of age and above, and 20,000 were 65 years of age and above. Four

thousand were reported as born blind, and 3000 to have lost their sight in infancy. In the main, blindness is a problem of later life. It grows out of affections of the eyes such as cataract, plaucoma, ophthalmia neonatorum, atrophy of the optic nerve, and trachoma.

It is undoubtedly difficult for a blind person to engage in agriculture. He is largely dependent upon assistants, many of whom no doubt are relatives. Almost every state has a state supported school for the blind where they are taught to be as nearly self-supporting as possible. In some states private schools are offered for the blind, and also special classes may be provided for them in the public schools. Public pensions are offered in a few states.

Prevention through the control of accidents and communicable diseases is, of course, basic to a program of handling the problem of the blind. It is not difficult to see that they present larger social problems than the deaf.

The crippled.—A searching house-to-house canvass in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1916 showed 4000 crippled persons in that city. In Massachusetts in 1905 some 17,000 crippled were found by a census study. Queen and Mann¹⁰ say that upon the basis of these and similar studies there must be approximately 660,000 seriously disabled persons in the United States.

As to the causes of a crippled condition, the above authors say that fully one-half of such disability is due to disease, one-sixth is due to industrial accidents, and one-third is due to other accidents. Infantile paralysis, rickets, and tuberculosis of the bone all account for a great deal of physical disability among children. In a study of a rural crippled children's clinic in Louisiana the author found that a large majority of the cases were due to infantile paralysis.¹¹

¹⁰ Queen, S. A., and Mann, D. H., "Social Pathology," p. 521, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1925.

¹¹ See Hayes, Augustus W., "Examples of Community Enterprises in Louisiana," p. 18, ff., Tulane University *Research Bulletin* 3, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1923.

The social consequences of physical disability depend, of course, upon the extent of the disability. Many individuals may be reduced to helplessness, or to a condition in which only limited routine work may be performed. Cripples are considerably handicapped in agriculture. Warped personalities, self pity, and self-centeredness, often accompany such physical disability as a crippled condition.

Early hospitalization is vital in almost all cases. In many rural districts such a treatment is almost out of the question because the hospitals are not at hand, as we shall see in the following chapter. The spread of both private and public crippled children's clinics is bringing invaluable aid to rural districts along these lines. Centers for the rehabilitation and re-education of the adult cripple have been established in numerous places. Schools for educating crippled children have also been established; some 30 cities now have special classes for crippled children. Rural children are at a great disadvantage because of inadequate health and nursing facilities.

The mentally diseased.—*Comparative insanity rates:* There were 267,617 patients in hospitals for mental disease in the United States in 1922.¹² The Department of Commerce states that there are "considerably higher rates of first admission for urban than for rural districts. The rate per 100,000 of the population in urban districts was 78.8 and in rural districts 41.1; for males, the rate in urban districts was 89.6 and in rural districts 46.4; for females, the rate in urban districts was 67.8 and in rural districts 35.5"¹³ These rates clearly show the fallacy of the frequent statement that a high rate of insanity is found among women in rural districts. For both males and females the rates are higher in every age group in urban districts than they are in rural districts. In

¹² "Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease," 1923, p. 2, *Preliminary Bulletin*, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

the age group 65 to 69 years, and in the age group 70 years and over, the rate for urban women is about twice as high as it is for rural women. The data in Table 24 well illustrate the differences between the urban and rural populations as to first admissions to the hospitals for the mentally diseased.

TABLE 24

URBAN AND RURAL FIRST ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITALS FOR MENTAL DISEASES DURING 1922, PER 100,000 POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE ¹⁴

Age	Urban			Rural		
	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes
All ages.....	89.6	67.8	78.8	46.4	35.5	41.1
Under 15 years....	1.8	1.7	1.7	0.9	0.8	0.9
15 to 19 years....	46.0	34.5	40.0	20.9	18.3	19.6
20 to 24 years....	93.2	53.2	72.2	56.1	34.6	45.4
25 to 29 years....	116.8	77.1	96.8	71.8	49.4	60.7
30 to 34 years....	125.6	92.9	109.7	76.5	67.0	71.8
35 to 39 years....	127.3	101.1	114.8	76.0	66.4	71.4
40 to 44 years....	140.8	109.5	125.5	76.7	70.9	74.0
45 to 49 years....	123.8	119.8	121.9	71.3	66.3	69.1
50 to 54 years....	127.5	117.3	122.5	75.5	77.7	76.5
55 to 59 years....	146.5	108.4	127.7	81.8	59.4	71.8
60 to 64 years....	156.5	123.1	139.8	93.0	68.5	82.3
65 to 69 years....	198.9	143.6	170.4	104.8	65.7	87.5
70 years and over..	282.0	217.0	246.0	161.4	110.9	137.5

Types of mental disease: Dementia præcox, manic-depressive, and senile psychoses lead in mental diseases afflicting rural people. Table 25 shows the relative importance of the different psychoses in both the urban and rural populations. It will be seen by Table 25 that dementia præcox, manic-de-

¹⁴ Reconstruction from *op. cit.*, p. 7.

pressive, and general paralysis psychoses lead the list in the mental diseases afflicting urban people, and that the urban rate is much higher in all of these than the rural rate. Psychoses with psychopathic personality are three times as great in the city as in the country, and alcoholic psychoses are about four times as numerous in the city.

TABLE 25

NUMBER OF FIRST ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITALS FOR MENTAL DISEASE DURING 1922 PER 100,000 POPULATION, BOTH SEXES, URBAN AND RURAL¹⁵

<i>Psychoses</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
All clinical groups.....	78.8	41.1
Traumatic.....	0.2	0.1
Senile.....	6.9	4.5
With cerebral arteriosclerosis.....	3.8	2.0
General paralysis.....	8.3	2.1
With cerebral syphilis.....	1.0	0.4
With Huntington's chorea.....	0.1	0.1
With brain tumor.....	0.1	(1) *
With other brain or nervous diseases.....	0.7	0.3
Alcoholic.....	3.5	0.9
Due to drugs and other exogenous toxins.....	0.7	0.3
With pellagra.....	0.2	0.5
With other somatic diseases.....	1.9	1.1
Manic-depressive.....	11.0	8.2
Involution melancholia.....	2.0	1.1
Dementia præcox (schizophrenia).....	18.1	8.6
Paranoia or paranoid conditions.....	2.3	1.0
Epileptic.....	1.6	1.5
Psychoneuroses and neuroses.....	3.3	1.5
With psychopathic personality.....	1.2	0.4
With mental deficiency.....	1.7	1.6
Undiagnosed.....	4.5	2.0
With psychosis.....	5.7	2.6
Unknown.....	0.2	0.1

* Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

¹⁵ Reconstruction *op. cit.*, p. 8.

Death rates for mentally afflicted: Although the mental diseases show their greatest prevalence during the middle age periods—35 to 55 years, the death rates are exceedingly high. In 1922 the death rates for each 1000 patients under treatment was 80.1 for males and 67.4 for females, or an average death rate of 74.3. The death rate for the general population for 1922 was 11.8 per 1000 population. The social significance of cutting persons off in the most productive years of life after society has made its investment in them is evident.

Mentally diseased outside hospital care: We have reliable data for the mentally diseased who are under hospitalization. There is an unknown number in the society at large, and in various kinds of institutions not adapted for their care. These persons constitute a great menace, and society at the same time is not giving them justice.

Many incipient cases are allowed to remain unidentified until they develop definite and perfectly obvious psychoses; especially is this true in rural districts. This makes such cases difficult to cure, for the rate of cures for cases of long standing is quite low. Jails, poorhouses, and other undesirable detention places very frequently catch both incipient and pronounced cases from rural districts.

Treatment of the mentally afflicted: The first constructive step in treatment is the establishment of mental clinics within easy reach of all parts of the population. The teaching of mental hygiene in the schools and to the public is also a valuable preventive measure. The establishment of psychopathic hospitals for the treatment of personality disorders and incipient mental cases is progressing in several states. Rarely does mental breakdown descend precipitously upon a person; usually there is a history replete with warnings, which, if heeded and treated, might forestall further development.

In Indiana a law was enacted in 1919 authorizing the state hospitals for the insane to receive voluntary patients, establish mental clinics, and employ field workers in order to pre-

vent mental diseases, and to provide after care for patients discharged from hospitals. Lack of adequate financial support has prevented this program from functioning. Such a plan, however, would aid rural districts materially in receiving skilled attention through the establishment of mental clinics in various parts of the state.

The epileptic: Epilepsy is a disease of the nervous system and is of an unknown origin. It is of such a nature as to isolate socially the afflicted individual, and to gradually incapacitate him for any useful service. Its development may be prolonged in some cases and rapid in others. It generally leads to the loss of self-respect on the part of the patient, a decay of mental faculties, and a devouring unhappiness.

We have no reliable data on the number of epileptics in the United States. Some careful estimates have placed the number at 20,000. It is safe to say the rural districts contain their fair share of the number, because of the general lack of attention to the detection and hospitalization of rural cases.

Only a few states have established colonies for the care and treatment of epileptics; chief among these states are Ohio, New York, Massachusetts, Indiana, and Michigan. Colony care under trained workers is the best treatment for epileptics. Here good food, kind treatment, and outdoor occupations can be provided.

A report on Mental Defectives in Indiana states:

In view of the fact that the uncared-for epileptics in Indiana number approximately 1200, besides a number cared for in unsuitable places, the committee (on Mental Defectives) recommends that the Village for Epileptics at Newcastle be enlarged at the earliest possible date to 1200 capacity, with ample facilities for scientific treatment, education and employment.¹⁶

¹⁶ "Mental Defectives in Indiana," p. 9, *Third Report of the Indiana Commission on Mental Defectives, Second Edition*, Sept., 1923, Indiana.

The mentally deficient (feebleminded).—*Number and distribution:* There are no definite figures of the number of feebleminded persons in the United States. Their number has been carefully estimated by Queen and Mann¹⁷ at one and one half per cent of the general population, or about 500,000 persons. It is a known fact that many of them are outside of institutional care. It is these who give us our greatest concern and about whose numbers and distribution we have the least information.

It is generally conceded that there is a higher rate for feeble-mindedness in the country than there is in the city. There is no doubt that in some of the backward and isolated rural sections the rate for feeble-mindedness is surprisingly high. In Table 26 it will be seen that 73 per cent of the mentally defective children of a rural county in Delaware were found living in farm districts as compared with 60 per cent of the general population living in similar localities.

There are several reasons which help to account for a higher ratio of feeble-mindedness in the country than in the city. In the first place, an imbecile and a moron may be of considerable service about the farmstead and in the fields. They are less of an economic liability on the farm than they are in the city, and are, therefore, likely to be retained in the farm-home unless forcibly removed. Then again, country people are often skeptical about institutional treatment and management, and are reluctant to send their feeble-minded children or relatives to institutions. The feeble-minded in rural districts are often not designated as such, but are looked upon as queer or inconsistent folks. So much leniency is sometimes shown towards them that intermarriages between them are countenanced. It is a known fact that in some backward rural districts considerable intermarriage has taken place among defective stocks. This is one of the important sources,

¹⁷ Queen, S. A., and Mann, D. H., "Social Pathology," *op. cit.*, p. 596.

but not the only source of feeble-mindedness, according to the best recent data on the problem.

TABLE 26

PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF MENTALLY DEFECTIVE CHILDREN AND OF THE GENERAL POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, SUSSEX COUNTY, DELAWARE¹⁸

<i>Place of Residence</i>	<i>Mentally Defective Children 6 to 20 Years of Age *</i>		<i>Population 10 Years of Age and Over in 1910 †</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
<i>Total</i>	192	100.0	46,413	100.0
Farms.....	140	72.9	28,007	60.3
Small settlements.....	10	5.2	6,444	13.9
Towns.....	38	19.8	11,962	25.8
Almshouse.....	4	2.1	‡	‡

* Includes 1 child aged 20 years and 11 months and considered 21 by the Public Health Service.

† The Rand-McNally Indexed County and Township Pocket Map of Delaware. White and colored were not shown separately.

‡ There were 35 almshouse inmates, forming one-tenth of 1 per cent of population of county.

The social problem of the feeble-minded: The significant social problem of the feeble-minded lies chiefly with the moron type. Too frequently in rural districts they pass for simply backward persons and are allowed to marry and rear children. At best the morons can do little more than perform simple routine tasks; they are often possessed of vicious traits and habits and produce many petty thefts and crimes. Their influence on normal persons, and especially children, is sometimes a most serious social problem. The idiot and imbecile

¹⁸ Treadwell, W. L., and Lundberg, E. O., "Mental Defect in a Rural County," p. 42, *Bureau Publication 48*, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1919.

are more clearly marked than the moron and are given less freedom because of their more helpless state, but at the same time they incur heavy social and economic burdens even under rural conditions.

Treatment of the feeble-minded: Careful mental testing of all school children in order to discover the mentally deficient is one of the first steps needed in planning a course of treatment and control. An informed public conscience is necessary in dealing with the problems of education, control, and treatment of the feeble-minded. Also the relation between defective mentality and pauperism, degeneracy, crime, alcoholism, illegitimacy, and other social ills needs wide recognition. Rigid enforcement of eugenic marriage laws will help to reduce the supply, and will help to educate people relative to the social responsibilities defective stocks impose.

Institutionalization in properly supervised state hospitals is necessary for many cases of feeble-mindedness. For some of the more efficient, placement with good custodians in private homes may be practiced. Sterilization of institutional cases is unnecessary, but it may be helpful for certain cases which can be left in society under guidance and direction.

Rural districts need much information and enlightenment on the social problem the feeble-minded are creating. Instead of adding to their numbers, rural residents need to face-about and assist in a program of control.

Criminal classes.—Crime of all kinds seems to have a lower rate in the country than in the city. There are factors working in society which give the city an unfair position in this regard. Many of the criminally inclined in the country will gravitate to the city because of the ease of leading an anonymous existence there, and because of the greater concentration of wealth in urban districts. We are not unmindful of the fact, however, that there are rural slums as well as urban slums. Illegal dealing with whiskey, or counterfeiting money, or prostitution may characterize certain isolated valleys, or

pockets and recesses in rural districts. On the whole, crime in the country is generally directed against persons, whereas in the city it is greater against property.

A rural study made by the New York State Crime Commission, and reported in part in *Rural America* for June, 1927, shows that

Professional crime was not a problem in the (two) counties, but everywhere there were signs of the decay of old controls. The decline of agriculture and drift of young people away from the farm, the greater freedom from restraining influences which the use of the automobile has brought to the young, the diversification of recreation and lack of public supervision of dance halls, and the primitive social-welfare methods are some of the conditions upon which the report comments. Drunkenness was found to be a problem, especially in one county.¹⁹

A study made by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor found in one rural New York county 185 delinquent children, 14 of whom were classed as incorrigible, 68 as sex offenders, and 75 as guilty of some fraud.²⁰

We need further careful studies of crime in rural districts before we can draw correct conclusions as to the crime rate among rural residents.

Treatment of rural crime: Often homes, churches, and schools in the country are not sufficiently alive to the up-to-date interests and needs of young people in their charge. Too often a repressive attitude is assumed towards the exuberant desires of young folks, and as a consequence, the latter become inclined to resort to various and devious ways to fulfill their normal intentions.

¹⁹ "Study of Crime in Rural Districts," *Rural America*, June, 1927, p. 15, The American Country Life Association, New York.

²⁰ Children's Bureau Publication 32, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, 1918.

The above-mentioned report on the New York State Crime Commission study further states as follows:

The necessity of developing community resources, especially along preventive lines, is pointed out, the need for development of supervised community recreation being especially stressed. The part which the parents, the schools, and the church should play in a crime-prevention program is discussed. In the opinion of the committee the juvenile court has still to visualize the larger implications of its work and should become the friend and advisor of every community movement which relates to child welfare.²¹

In view of all the native advantages the country has of rearing normal individuals, it is often a serious reflection upon rural parents when their boys and girls take the wrong path. W. E. Drips, of *Wallaces' Farmer*, in a study of chicken thievery in Iowa has found that three-fourths of the chicken thieves of Iowa are minors. He says that many of the parents of Iowa farm boys and girls know little as to where their older children spend their leisure evenings.²²

Often local justice is extremely lax in rural counties, and police protection is difficult to obtain. In some states systems of rural policing are developing which are extending a fair degree of protection to the farmer. Every county needs a thoroughgoing probation system with a skilled officer in charge and enough good assistants to take care of the work in all parts of the county. A live juvenile court officer is also a necessary adjunct to the probation work.

RURAL SOCIAL SERVICE

We are only in the barest beginnings of instituting social service in rural districts. The countryside needs much enlightenment as to the values of such service before it will

²¹ *Rural America, op. cit.*

²² Drips, W. E., "Where is Your Wandering Boy," *Wallaces' Farmer*, April 27, 1928, Des Moines, Iowa.

be wholesomely receptive to it. There is little doubt that adequate social service in rural districts will do as much or more than any other one thing towards helping to correct the problems of the dependent, defective, delinquent, and maladjusted classes.

Values of rural social service.—*First* of all, social service organizes the field of social work. Instead of dealing "piece-meal" with the results of maladjustments, it goes to the root-springs and seeks a corrective, keeping in mind the social wholeness of the person and the community.

Second, it places a trained and skilled social worker in the field. This is essential because of the baffling social problems usually confronted in trying to redirect or reshape the lives and destinies of individuals and groups.

Third, it interests and stimulates responsible local parties so that an *esprit de corps* is built up which automatically aids in the solution of many problems.

Fourth, it is cheaper and more effective than any other method of dealing with social pathological problems. It costs in time and money, but these costs are small in relation to the liabilities incurred by no service, or the costs of heterogeneous work.

Fifth, it seeks to rehabilitate individuals in all possible ways within their communities, thus relieving institutions and saving individuals from the objectionable influences of institutionalization.

Sixth, it reaches effectively every home in the rural districts.

Seventh, the social viewpoint is developed, and a social objectiveness is obtained within rural areas which help to enlist all persons in aiding to forestall social inadequacy.

A practical view of rural social service.—Leroy A. Ramsdell, of the New York School of Social Work, gives a number of suggestions concerning the actual services of a trained social worker in the rural districts. He says:

By the average farmer the social case worker will be most readily understood, perhaps, as a person who looks after the poor and unfortunate. In nearly every rural community may be found at least one or two families who "can't get along" and who have no relatives or friends who will help them. During the winter they are usually supported by the town or the county. Then there are many other families in an average county who need temporary help over an emergency. Sometimes a collection is taken in the community or the local church to help the family over its crisis; sometimes the family has to go to the pauper list for help. Whatever the method of treatment, however, the total number of such cases arising in almost any county represents the expenditure of several thousand dollars and a considerable amount of somebody's time. Furthermore, nearly every study that has ever been made in any county has revealed the fact that some families were receiving pensions from the county which they did not need at all, simply because no one had ever checked up on the duration of the emergency in which the family first required help. Also, such studies have usually discovered other families entirely worthy, who really needed more help than the usual dole could supply. The average farmer, then, can understand the practical value of making it some one person's responsibility to see that every family in need receives as much, but not more than is needed for help so long as the need exists.

The professional social workers, however, will not be satisfied with this narrow conception of social case work. For he knows that the well-treated social case worker has acquired an expertness which can be helpful in many other kinds of trouble than financial distress and in many other ways than by giving material relief.²³

The sentiment for rural social work.—It is a significant fact that there is a growing recognition of the need of social workers for rural communities. Rural leaders and social workers are both experiencing the development of such a sentiment. At the *fifty-fourth National Conference of Social Work*, held in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1927, one-fifth of its

²³ Ramsdell, Leroy A., "What is a Social Worker?" *Rural America*, April, 1927, p. 7, American Country Life Association, New York.

large and crowded program was devoted to the needs and problems of rural social work. Ramsdell states in part concerning this phase of the conference as follows:

Not the least promising of the events of the National Conference of Social Work was the round-table which met under the auspices of the Committee of Rural Social Work of the American Country Life Association. This group, consisting of about thirty influential national and state workers in child welfare, family welfare, Y.W.C.A., public welfare, farm bureaus, farm women's clubs, rural church organization, farm journalism, and other fields of social and rural work, spent two afternoons discussing the Committee's objective of trying to secure the employment of a full-time trained social case worker in every rural county in the United States.²⁴

Figure 21 shows the states in the United States in which considerable movement is under way looking towards adequate programs of county social work. North Carolina probably has the most comprehensive state plan of any of the active states shown in the figure. A state law in North Carolina permits the establishment of county boards of charities and public welfare, and the appointment of a county superintendent of public welfare. The social work and general public welfare work in a county heads in this way in the county board of charities and public welfare and its superintendent. This lays the groundwork for constructive social service and the employment of trained social workers.

The first duty laid upon the county superintendent (of public welfare) is to act as chief school-attendance officer of the county. Other functions delegated to him as a county official include: (a) The care and supervision of the poor and administration of the poor funds; (b) promotion of wholesome recreation in the county and enforcement of laws regulating commercial amusement; (c) supervision of prisoners on parole; and (d) oversight of dependent

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 2, June, 1927.

and delinquent children, especially those on probation or parole. As an agent of the State board, and under its direction, the county superintendent performs the following duties: (a) Acts as agent of the State board in relation to any work to be done by the State board within the county; (b) supervises adults and children discharged or paroled from State hospitals, penal, correctional, or

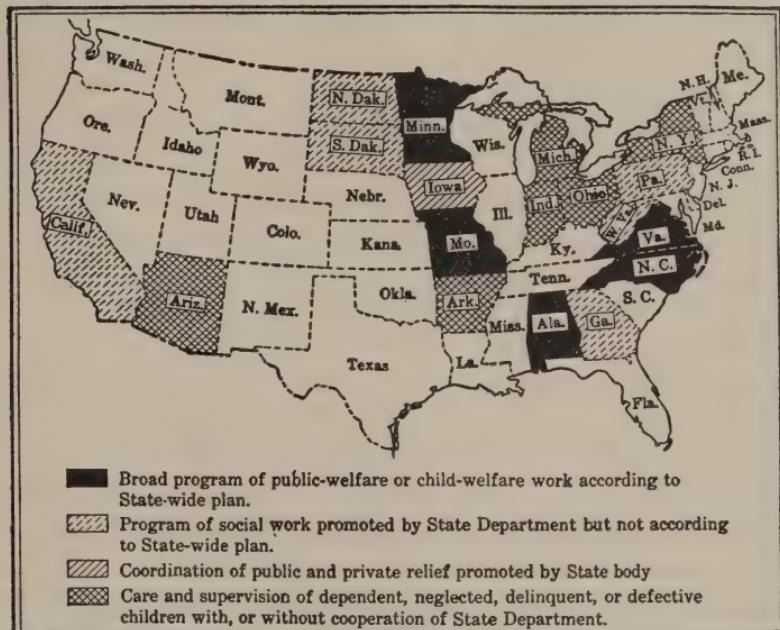


FIG. 21.—Organization of County Public-Welfare Work Authorized by Law or Developed by State Board.²⁵

[County boards of visitors, juvenile advisory committees, etc., are not included] other State institutions; (c) investigates the causes of distress and makes such other investigations in the interest of social welfare as the State board may direct.²⁶

The Iowa plan: A unique and seemingly successful plan of county social work is being developed in Iowa. Here the

²⁵ Lundberg, Emma A., "The County as a Unit for an Organized Program of Child Caring and Protective Work," p. 5, *Publication No. 169, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1926.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

State University assists in organizing counties for the services of social workers. Public and private relief is administered through a county board of directors, and a social worker trained in family social work is the executor of the county social work.

It has been stated that the Iowa plan "provides the local courts with a trained social worker for all cases involving children of helpless adults. It supplies trained social service to the schools in dealing with problem children. It strengthens a public-health program where there is one and helps evolve one where there is none. It insures a reliable information service about institutional care and proper means for using it. It affords help in filing applications properly for State benefits available to certain groups of handicapped people. It provides vocational training for those handicapped for industry."²⁷

Work of the American Red Cross: The American Red Cross has been a foremost agency in encouraging and in aiding the establishment of county-wide social service work. It has been largely through the pioneer work of some local chapter secretaries of the Red Cross that small towns and rural communities within their reach experienced their first contacts with real social service. In some cases the valuable work commenced by well-qualified Red Cross secretaries has expanded into permanent county social work. In many other cases, however, the work was finally abandoned largely because a proper local clientele had not been developed.

The need of a county-wide organization for the specific purpose of attending to the social service features of rural and small town population groups is gradually gaining recognition. The essential feature of this organization is a trained social worker. The worker and her organization must have their proper linking with the various community organizations within the county, as well as with certain county groups.

²⁷ *The Survey*, February 15, 1925, p. 382, New York.

There is little doubt that social service on the county basis will soon come to be held as important and essential in rural counties as is the county agricultural agent service which is now so widely used.

SUMMARY

The reader probably realizes the limitations under which many of the materials of this chapter have been presented. It is hoped that enough suggestions have been given, however, to lead the investigative student into studies of rural social pathological problems. We need more definite facts as to the causes, conditions, and extent of rural poverty, delinquency, crime, immorality, broken homes, etc. We have few ways of treating with the same factors concerning defective, dependent, and neglected classes in rural life. Fundamental studies of these groups and conditions of life will assist in providing constructive programs of treatment and prevention, and in understanding the larger social and economic problems of the country.

Rural areas have done practically nothing in the way of regulations concerning minimum housing standards. Health and sanitation questions are receiving attention in some areas, as we shall see in the next chapter, but a vast field of work is still open along these lines. The work and findings of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, of several state Crime Commissions, Departments of Public Health, and the American Red Cross have been especially helpful. One of the most vital and promising movements, which has been reported in the foregoing pages, is that of organizing state and county Welfare Boards or Departments. When these have as a distinct part of their program the employment of a full-time, trained social worker for each rural county valuable machinery will be set in motion that should lead to a constructive handling of the hitherto neglected problems of rural social maladjustment.

CHAPTER XIX

RURAL HEALTH AND PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Introduction.—The general sociological significance attached to health factors and health conditions is often unrecognized or unappreciated in rural areas. The numerous ways in which loss of health or lowered vitality disturbs individuals in their relations with others and in their own profit and enjoyment of life are quite beyond computation. Who, for instance, can measure in either social or financial quantities the effects of the ravages of the hookworm troubles among the southern people? We see here consequent shiftlessness, dullness, human inefficiency, and an appalling apathy spread out upon a people and stifle social progress. Typhoid fever, tuberculosis, influenza, malaria, and many other infectious and contagious diseases give somewhat similar records. Individuals, families, neighborhoods, or communities which are constantly or intermittently handicapped by poor health conditions are placed at a disadvantage that holds very deciding sway over their social performances.

No part of society can keep up its end in social progress under a disproportionately heavy burden in health factors. Although the country districts as a whole possess certain health advantages, due to open spaces, fresh air, fresh foods, and work out of doors, they have been failing to capitalize upon these assets. As the ledger now stands, it is highly probable there is a greater relative sickness incidence in rural areas than in urban areas. This means curtailed working periods, lessened income, if not chronic conditions of mind and body, and a shortened life span.

Effects of health on personal development.—The effects of ill health upon the personality are noteworthy. Ill health may cause the person to lose his grip upon life and to become more or less personally demoralized. A sick person is easily irritated; he is in a weakened condition, and consequently may assume an inferiority or inefficiency state unnatural to him. Self-confidence and determination are easily broken, and one's personal drive becomes lessened under conditions of ill health.

Among children, self-centeredness, self-pity, and introversion may develop, which unfit the individual for wholesome social experience. Truancy and delinquency are often associated with ill health. Intensive application to a task, whether mental or physical, is difficult to attain under adverse health conditions. Backwardness and retardation in school due to malnutrition or ill health dwarf beyond measure a child's possibilities of fulfilling a useful life career. The ill health of parents often means their neglect of child-care and rearing duties, which may give a long line of child character problems.

Need of personal knowledge of health factors.—No one can consider himself equipped for proper social functioning without some fundamental knowledge of hygiene, communicable diseases, and sanitation. Ignorance of these factors lies at the bottom of much rural backwardness in health matters. A simple understanding of bacterial life is essential in building up protective and control measures relating to bacteria-born diseases. Farmers, in a large measure, need more knowledge concerning these health factors than do city people, because they are thrown so much upon their own resources in the conduct of their homes and work conditions. Farmers have to be their own sanitarians, as they themselves arrange for their own water supplies, milk, and vegetable supplies, sewage disposal, drainage plans, and preserve and store considerable quantities of foods. City people can and

do rely upon skilled, regulatory, and inspection services for all of these items; their health and living conditions are carefully guarded by numerous groups of trained workers who are employed by the city. These services in the city have become increasingly efficient, and instead of polluted water, milk, or vegetables the city family gets, with little effort on its part, safe products.

The farmer is distant from clinics, hospitals, and other medical services; he should, therefore, have a good knowledge of simple, first-aid measures in case of accident, disease, sun-stroke, etc.

Urban and rural death-rates.—A comparison between urban and rural areas as to the causes of death in each case and the relative importance of certain diseases is valuable in determining the basis of health burdens and the proper lines of action in order to meet deficiencies.

The following table shows the diseases which produce greater mortality in rural areas than they do in urban areas:

TABLE 27

DISEASES SHOWING HIGHER DEATH RATES IN RURAL THAN IN URBAN AREAS
(RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION)¹

Disease	Urban Death Rate	Rural Death Rate	Excess Rural Death Rate
Typhoid Fever.....	22.6	24.4	1.8
Malarial Fever.....	2.6	3.7	1.1
Influenza.....	14.8	27.8	13.0
Dysentery.....	6.8	10.2	3.4
Rheumatism.....	8.4	8.6	0.2
Apoplexy and Paralysis.....	87.9	111.9	24.0
Disease of the Circulatory System.....	178.1	179.6	1.5

¹ Hoffman, F. L., "Rural Health and Welfare," p. 15, Prudential Life Insurance Company, New York, 1912.

The data in Table 27 are based upon United States census data from 1900 to 1910 and for the registration states given in 1900, as follows: Connecticut, Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

Besides the diseases listed in Table 27, rural areas experience a higher death rate than do urban areas from epilepsy, pellagra, diseases of the stomach (ulcers and cancers excepted), hookworm, and sometimes whooping cough.

In contrast to the above facts concerning diseases having higher rural than urban death rates, we find a reverse situation in regard to some of the great death-dealing diseases such as tuberculosis of the lungs, cancers, diseases of the heart and pneumonia, which have a considerably higher rate in cities than in the country. Dr. F. L. Hoffman in 1912 showed there was a net balance of mortality in favor of the country of 290.2 per 100,000 of population.²

City gaining on rural health advantages.—Formerly the cities all held a much higher death rate than did the rural districts. Within the past fifteen or twenty years the gap has been getting narrower. While both country and city have lowered their mortality figures appreciably, the city has made far greater gains than has the country. In 1900 the general mortality difference in favor of the country was 3.7; in 1910 it stood at 2.5; and in 1924 at 1.0. Furthermore, in 1916, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, California, and Washington all had a lower death rate for their city population than for their rural population. In 1924, eight states had such a record; namely, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Connecticut, California, New Hampshire, Ohio, and Michigan. Seven of the larger cities in the northern states showed lower death rates in 1922 than did the rural areas of their respective states.

In 1924, the United States mortality figures were produc-

² *Op. cit.*

tive of the following table showing diseases having a higher urban than rural rate:

TABLE 28

DEATH-RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION IN U. S. REGISTRATION AREA,
URBAN AND RURAL DISTRICTS, 1924³

	Total Registration Area	Rural Part of Registration States	Registration Cities
All causes (deaths per 1000 population)	11.8	10.9	12.8
Heart Disease.....	178.1	156.0	201.7
Influenza and Pneumonia.....	117.7	104.9	131.4
Cancer.....	91.9	74.0	111.0
Tuberculosis (all forms).....	90.4	87.8	93.2
Nephritis.....	89.6	80.6	99.1
Diarrhoea and enteritis (under 2 years)	27.8	26.4	29.3
Diabetes.....	16.6	13.4	20.0

These facts lead us directly into the problems of rural health. We find that urban health conditions are receiving vastly more attention than are rural health conditions, and as a consequence, the country is falling behind in spite of certain natural advantages it possesses.

SOME RURAL HEALTH ASSETS

1. Relative freedom from human contaminations.—Concentration of population gives rise to many opportunities for the spread of disease. The farm home is set off to itself, which gives it an isolation protection. The members of the farm family, also, in the regular conduct of their work duties are relatively little exposed to human carriers of dis-

³ "United States Mortality Statistics, 1924," Statistical Bureau, Washington, D. C., November 26, 1927.

ease. These conditions, without doubt, have played a large part in matters relating to communicable and infectious diseases by lessening their distribution.

2. Outdoor life of the farm.—The farm family engages in more wholesome outdoor living and working than almost any other group. As a consequence, rural people build up strong resistance against disease. Further, the rays of the sun and the air currents against the body produce stimulus and tone. The air of the country is not disease-laden or filled with smoke and foul dusts as is the case in some phases of city living and working. Outdoor work in the country stimulates a good appetite and is conducive to sound sleep.

3. Foods of large potential values.—Although the farm diet is likely to be lacking in variety at certain seasons of the year, it is generally made up of good staple products. Milk, butter, cream, cheese, eggs, fruits, vegetables (in season), poultry, and meats all may be had fresh and of good quality and quantity.

4. Peacefulness and quietness.—One suffers little from overwrought nerves in the country. The relative absence of deafening noises, which medical experts claim are exhausting to the nervous system, is a just claim of the country.

SOME RURAL HEALTH LIABILITIES

1. Poor medical facilities.—Many rural areas of the United States are becoming strikingly deficient in the services of physicians. Before me is a newspaper clipping taken from the *Southern Agriculturist*, issue of April 15, 1926, which states, "Kentucky Needs More Physicians." It is related that Leslie County, Kentucky, has not a single physician for her total population of 10,545 people. Menefee County, Kentucky, has one physician for her population of 5629 people; Elliott County has two physicians for her 8516 people, and Edmonson County has two physicians for her 11,074 people.

In cities, by way of contrast, there is one physician to every 529 people. In country areas throughout the United States the ratio is one physician to about 1020 people. It has been stated that 63 per cent of the physicians of the United States live among that half of the population found in towns and cities of over 5000 population. This leaves 37 per cent of the supply of physicians to that half of the population in rural areas and towns up to 5000 population.⁴

Not only do the rural areas contain proportionately fewer medical men, but a large percentage of the ones they do have are men past the prime of life, who are not well versed in up-to-date medicine, and who find difficulty in getting about through the countryside.

Rural areas are woefully short on hospital service. About 45 per cent of the rural counties of the United States are without any kind of hospitals for local or community use. Good pharmacies and drugs are also less available for the rural population than they are for the urban population.

2. Periods of stress, and of relative idleness.—It is a difficult proposition inherent in the seasonal nature of farming so to order the labors of the farm that extreme fluctuations in work periods do not occur. At the height of a late season when everything depends upon getting the crop planted or harvested, all workers on the farm are likely to overwork or overstrain themselves. On the other hand, winter is often a period of considerable idleness. Heavy eating habits are sometimes carried over into periods of comparative idleness and thus give rise to digestive ailments or other debilitating conditions of the body.

The general overwork problems of farm women are also serious in their health relations. Farm women tend to age early in their careers and show otherwise in body and features the burden of long hours of toil without labor-saving devices.

⁴"Scarcity of Country Doctors," *Rural America*, February, 1925, p. 10, The American Country Life Association, New York.

3. Insanitary conditions.—The farm home and premises do not need to be insanitary, but it requires considerable personal effort and knowledge to institute and practice modern sanitation on the farm. Cleanliness about out-buildings and barns, yards, and pens, calls for constant and persistently well-directed effort. Careless and negligent methods of milking and handling milk are inexcusable; yet we see a surprising amount of such practices. In the matter of locating and protecting wells we find similar criticisms holding true. Some of the most appalling conditions, however, grow out of insanitary privies so prevalent on farms. Undrained barn lots, ponds, and swamps add menace to rural health.

4. Physical exposures.—Farming naturally calls for work in various kinds of weather. While it does not rank as a hazardous occupation, it does have a fair range of drawbacks from the point of view of both accidents and weather exposures. Farmers are prone to overestimate their ruggedness and depend upon it to carry them through exposures of all sorts, such as rain and cold, working in wet clothes and shoes and in the blistering sun. These situations give rise to rheumatic troubles, enlarged joints, drawn and stooped bodies.

In the winter time generally only two or three rooms in the farm house are heated; the others are poorly ventilated, and often damp and cold.

5. Refrigeration difficulties.—The farmer meets real problems in trying to preserve from day to day his fresh meats, vegetables, milk, cream, and butter. Except in the colder climates where ice may be stored for summer use, he has no efficient means of refrigeration. Caves, spring-houses, and wells are used to some extent, but they are little better than makeshifts at best. The practices of salting meats, and of drying and canning certain other products have been the farmer's chief ways of preserving his more perishable foods. Palatability, and sometimes values, have been greatly reduced by these methods. Better processes of canning and preserva-

tion are aiding materially in offsetting some of the problems of poor refrigeration facilities.

6. Unwise diet.—In a former paragraph it was stated that the farm possesses as an asset foods of large potential values. This is true, but in a great many cases these values are not realized to their fullest because of unwise provision, selection, and use of foods. In Chapter XVIII it was shown that in a good farming section in Kentucky, studied by the Children's Bureau, the better farm families had only 74 per cent of an adequate diet and the poorest families had only 12 per cent. Heavy protein foods, salted meats, sometimes contaminated vegetables, and fruits, and insufficient use of milk and cream characterize far too many farm diets.

The unwise use of foods and an insufficient balance in the diet bring on ailments and physical troubles that are often attributed to climate. This is especially true in the South where much meat, corn bread, and pastry are consumed. It has been well remarked by someone that the frying-pan is overworked in rural districts; it might be added that the lard bucket is also too much in evidence. The instructions of home demonstration agents, health agencies, children's clinics, good periodicals and pamphlets all find a real service in helping to overcome some of the habitual practices of farmers in matters of diet.

STUDIES OF RURAL HEALTH CONDITIONS

A study of fifteen counties.—Some illuminating surveys and studies of rural health conditions have been made; outstanding among these studies are those of the United States Public Health Service. In a study by this Service of 15 counties distributed among 13 states having large rural populations, much valuable data were collected bearing especially upon sanitation features. Dr. L. L. Lumsden in reporting on this work, states, "Of 51,544 farm homes surveyed, only

1.22 per cent were equipped for the sanitary disposal of human excreta—and at some which were properly equipped, the equipment was not used by all members of the household in a sanitary manner; at 68 per cent, the water supply used for drinking and culinary purposes was obviously exposed to potentially dangerous contamination from privy contents or from promiscuous deposits of human excreta, and at the majority of these the water supply was exposed also to unwholesome pollution from stable yards and pig-sties. At only 32.88 per cent of the farm homes were the dwellings during the summer season effectively screened to prevent flies—having free access to nearby deposits of human and other filth—from entering the dining rooms and kitchens and contaminating the foods for human consumption exposed therein.”⁵

It was found that a very widespread ignorance prevailed relative to the simplest matters of sanitation and precautionary measures against the spread of communicable diseases. A general willingness on the part of rural residents to receive and follow advice concerning such subjects was reported by the surveyors.

Table 29 has been constructed in large part by the author out of the data presented in the survey report listed below in the footnote. For any inaccuracies in computations the author assumes full responsibilities.

Overcrowding in rural homes: In Table 29 we see evidence of considerable overcrowding in rural homes. With the average number of persons in rural homes ranging around 4.7 persons, we find as high as 85.1 per cent of the farm families of Walker County, Alabama, living in homes of 1 to 4 rooms, and only 14 per cent of them living in homes of 5 to 8 rooms. The standard sanitary and health requirements are about one and one-half rooms per individual.

⁵ Lumsden, L. L., “Rural Sanitation,” p. 40. *Public Health Bulletin*, 94, Treasury Department, United States Public Health Service, Washington, D. C., 1918.

TABLE 29

SANITARY AND OTHER HEALTH CONDITIONS AT RURAL HOMES IN FIFTEEN COUNTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

	<i>Number of All Rural Homes (1 to 12 Rooms)</i>	<i>Percentage of Rural Population Living in Homes of 1 to 4 Rooms</i>	<i>Percentage of Rural Population Living in Homes of 5 to 8 Rooms</i>
Berkeley Co., West Virginia.....	2307	31.8	56.8
Lawrence Co., Indiana.....	3502	66.5	30.2
Union Co., Mississippi.....	2936	80.1	19.0
Dorchester Co., Maryland.....	3992	45.2	48.0
Anne Arundel Co., Maryland.....	7543	35.8	55.0
Wilson Co., Kansas.....	4387	37.8	59.5
Orange Co., North Carolina.....	2424	70.8	27.2
Walker Co., Alabama.....	4887	85.1	14.0
Dallas Co., Iowa.....	2332	13.8	86.2
Greenville Co., South Carolina.....	8629	61.6	35.8
Floyd Co., Georgia.....	3173	68.4	30.0
Tuscaloosa Co., Alabama.....	1361	80.2	18.8
Obion Co., Tennessee.....	3188	55.6	42.7
Clay Co., Missouri.....	2220	40.7	54.4
Cumberland Co., Illinois.....	2066	Most dwellings contain 4 to 8 rooms.	
	<i>Average Number of Persons in Rural Homes</i>	<i>Percentage of Rural Homes With Sanitary Privies or Sanitary Sewage Systems</i>	<i>Percentage of Rural Homes With Water Supply Regarded as Unsafe</i>
Berkeley Co., West Virginia.....	4.7	0.24	67.20
Lawrence Co., Indiana.....	4.4	0.25	56.00
Union Co., Mississippi.....	.....	0.20	76.15
Dorchester Co., Maryland.....	.....	1.08	36.50
Anne Arundel Co., Maryland.....	4.7	5.65	48.41
Wilson Co., Kansas.....	6.0	1.16	33.05
Orange Co., North Carolina.....	5.0	0.08	95.65
Walker Co., Alabama.....	4.9	8.12	72.36
Dallas Co., Iowa.....	4.2	2.71	40.00
Greenville Co., South Carolina.....	5.1	0.39	93.42
Floyd Co., Georgia.....	4.9	1.80	79.00
Tuscaloosa Co., Alabama.....	4.6	0.79	56.00
Obion Co., Tennessee.....	4.7	0.22	71.79
Clay Co., Missouri.....	4.0	0.67	69.93
Cumberland Co., Illinois.....	4.3	0.17	55.00

The most serious overcrowding in rural homes is found in those states containing a high percentage of Negroes in the population. For instance, the survey study indicated that about one-third of the rural homes in Walker County, Alabama, about one-fourth of them in Union County, Mississippi, 51 per cent in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and about one-third in Floyd County, Georgia, were negro homes. On the other hand, we cannot lay all blame for overcrowding in rural homes to racial differences, for we find in Lawrence County, Indiana, that 66.5 per cent of the rural population is living in homes of 1 to 4 rooms. In this county the survey shows that 98.9 per cent of the rural population is white and only 1.1 per cent Negro. In Clay County, Missouri, 40.7 per cent of the rural population lives in homes of 1 to 4 rooms, and there were only 32 negro families in the rural population at the time of the survey.

The bright spot in the housing situation is shown in the case of Dallas County, Iowa, where only 13.8 per cent of the rural population lives in homes of 1 to 4 rooms, while 86.2 per cent lives in homes of 5 to 8 rooms and over.

Waste disposal: Perhaps the most discouraging feature of the table is the figures relating to sanitary privies and sanitary sewage systems. Only .08 per cent of the rural homes of Orange County, North Carolina, are declared safe in regard to these. Chapel Hill, the seat of the University of North Carolina, is in this county. It had a population of 1382 at the time of the survey in 1915, and was found to be very modern in all respects. This contrast with the rest of the county serves to indicate how poorly provided the rural homes are with modern sanitation arrangements. The highest score that is given is 8.12 per cent for Walker County, Alabama, but some of the credit to rural homes is taken from these figures since the survey found practically all sanitary privies located at homes of small settlements in which some industry other than agriculture predominated.

The extreme carelessness of rural residents relative to disposal of wastes is reflected all through the survey. It is a risk that is costly in human life and health. It is paid for in the high mortality rates of typhoid fever and malaria in rural districts, not to mention general intestinal disturbances and lowered vitality.

The survey showed an inexcusable number of rural homes, rural churches, and rural schools without toilet facilities of any kind. The moral viciousness alone of such laxness is sufficient to condemn the practices; the sanitary consequences are, of course, far-reaching.

Water supply: The table shows most of the water supply of farm homes in the counties studied to be regarded as unsafe. This means that the drinking water comes from wells or springs so located as to be subject to contamination from privies, cesspools, barn lots, kitchen slops, or general surface drainage. Open wells with buckets, dug wells with pumps but insufficiently walled, and shallow wells were found in great numbers.

Screening of rural homes: The survey found, although it is not shown in the table, that considerable progress is evidenced in protecting homes by screens. Especially was this the case in Wilson County, Kansas, Dallas County, Iowa, and Cumberland County, Illinois, where all the rural homes except 2.48 per cent, 2.14 per cent, and 10.18 per cent respectively were screened. At the other extreme, however, are Union County, Mississippi, Orange County, North Carolina, Walker County, Alabama, and Floyd County, Georgia, where 76.00 per cent, 80.00 per cent, 75.00 per cent, and 79.96 per cent respectively of the farm homes were not screened.

Homes of the rural towns: The homes of the towns in the counties studied rated somewhat higher than did the farm homes, but the survey showed alarming conditions prevailing in many instances. Around railroad stations, post offices, dairies, stores, camps, and parks some viciously insanitary

conditions prevailed. The small town's water supplies and its disposal of human excreta and garbage were found constant sources of menace to the health of the townspeople and the country people as well. These are real problems of the small town because of its relatively low taxing power, and lack of leadership in providing financial aid and civic agencies sufficient to insure adequate sanitation services.

The survey report states:

In a crowded center of population, such as a town or village, an equivalent degree of insanitation is a greater menace to health than in an equal number of homes in a sparsely settled country neighborhood. Insanitary towns and villages constitute important foci from which infection is spread to country homes in their vicinity.⁶

The object of this survey of the United States Public Health Service was to find the facts basic to rural health and sanitation problems. Along with the survey, however, were used extensive methods of demonstrating better health conditions. The surveyors gave numerous lectures and demonstrations at fairs, special meetings, and at farm homes. Their work was welcomed, and the people generally showed a desire to learn better methods. After their first educational work had a chance to take effect, some marked improvements were noted. Towns in some of the counties responded 100.00 per cent in instituting certain of the sanitary measures recommended. Typhoid fever showed a marked decline in 11 of the 15 counties.

VARIOUS WAYS OF BRINGING ABOUT IMPROVEMENT OF RURAL HEALTH CONDITIONS

Surveys.—The survey method of obtaining facts and imparting information at the same time is very helpful. An interest on the part of the people can be created by a well-

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

conducted survey, which lays bare a receptive field for specific recommendations, both local and general. Surveyors, while on the premises of the farmer, are in a position to offer first-hand advice and suggestions which carry weight.

The great use of the survey, however, has to come through published reports, and lectures which set forth the conditions found and the recommendations made. Follow-up work during a term of years gives the largest value to the survey in the particular areas surveyed. The results of actual accomplishments in ways of improving conditions, when published and spread among the people, carry considerable influence.

The work of the United States Public Health Service, The Rockefeller Foundation, state health departments, and other responsible public and private organizations have proved of great value in helping to find facts relating to rural health conditions and in educating the people along these lines.

Studies of rural health have often revealed a community attitude representative of a moral problem for which the church is frequently responsible. For example, we have a widespread fatalistic attitude and the idea that it is weakness to give attention to physical health unless one is sick. Even at times from the churches comes antagonism to science which makes medical service more difficult. The country physician recognizing these facts may resort to magical performances, and also over-liberally use drugs. In backward rural districts where superstitions linger and churches are led by an untrained, if not ignorant ministry these handicaps to advancing medical science are real.

The demonstration method.—Demonstrations of effective methods of sanitation and of other features of health development may be conducted at rural homes, at local, county, and state fairs, and at health centers. A model farm water system, sanitary privies, and home sewage plants are all subject to easy demonstration.

More elaborate systems of demonstration are those put on

by the Commonwealth Fund of New York City, The American Red Cross, The National Child Health Societies, The United States Children's Bureau.

The Commonwealth Demonstration: The Commonwealth Fund, through its Child Health Demonstration Committee, set up a five-year program in 1923 which includes four different locations in the United States, three of which are rural counties. The counties selected are Clarke County, Georgia, Rutherford County, Tennessee, and Marion County, Oregon. A report on these demonstrations states:

These demonstrations were each to run for a five-year period. They were experimental in the sense that it is always an experiment to try to lead public opinion to support expert services with which it is not already familiar. They were not experimental in the sense that they would have been if new technical methods had been tried out on the children of these communities as though they were laboratory material. The plan was to bring together in each community a staff of people who would put into effect the soundest methods of child health work which had been developed and tested elsewhere, and to contribute, if possible, something new to the existing knowledge of the best way in which these methods could be fitted together. The best possible work was to be done, not for a selected group, or for one class or race rather than another, but for the largest possible number of babies and children.⁷

The educational value of these long-term demonstrations is almost incalculable both within and without the local areas involved. The work within the counties mentioned above is manned by a corps of efficient physicians, dentists, health officers, and nurses representing the Commonwealth Fund. These people work with the co-operation of the various public health authorities, medical and dental societies, local demonstration committees, parent-teacher groups, and many other parts of the whole citizen body in the county.

⁷ "Demonstrating Child Health," 1923-27, p. 5, *Bulletin* No. 4, The Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1927.

The great reach of the work is indicated by the following brief statement of the 1926 work in Marion County, Oregon:⁸

Babies under one year

- 2 out of every ten were examined by a pediatrician
- 1 out of every ten was visited by a nurse

Pre-School children

- 1 out of every ten was examined by a pediatrician
- 1 out of every ten was examined by a dentist
- 1 out of every ten was visited by a nurse

School children

- All were taught good health habits
- 3 out of every ten were examined by a pediatrician
- 9 out of every ten were examined by a dentist
- 4 out of every ten were visited by a nurse

Families

- 1 out of every ten was visited by a nurse

Space will not permit a further elaboration of these important demonstrations of child health in rural counties, but suffice it to state here that the advice, counsel, actual assistance, and the follow-up work of the character indicated above are productive of tremendous values in positive benefits and in stimulating health conservation methods.

An earlier work which was financed by the Commonwealth Fund and which has been completed along the same lines indicated above is that of Richland County, Ohio. Anna B. Towse, of the co-operating American Child Health Association, in writing of this demonstration states in part as follows:

The director of the demonstration reports a growth and demand among the farm wives for prenatal service. They drive many miles with their babies to the health centers for medical, ear, eye, nose, surgical, and orthopedic treatment. Classes in child care

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

conducted in co-operation with the County Farm Bureau and Extension Department of Ohio State University and taught by a Red Cross nurse, are well attended.⁹

Allthrough the schools and homes generally a high grade of child health practices has been started and well maintained.

Exhibits, lectures, motion pictures, pamphlets.—State, national, private and public institutions and organizations can and do render a most valuable service through the proper use of health exhibits, health trains, motion pictures, lectures, and printed material. There is always a certain number of individuals who profit through these channels; they put their new ideas into practice and thereby become local demonstrators for their neighbors and friends.

Clinics.—The development of better health practices and personal assistance through the use of clinics needs far wider application to rural areas. Through the co-operation of public officials and medical and dental societies, clinical services of various kinds should be available in every rural county. As in the cities, the clinics should be free or conducted at a very nominal charge to the individual. General health clinics, dental clinics, baby clinics, and school clinics are among the most important to receive early consideration.

Striking results of dental clinic work have been obtained in South Carolina. There

Dental examinations have been given 102,741 children, 112,070 fillings made, 3425 tooth drills have been conducted, and 1567 lectures given, attended by 207,567 school children in the South Carolina schools during the last three years. . . .

Several other states have instituted dental clinics as a part of their regular school health program. Training the pupils in better habits of personal hygiene is recognized as one of the primary duties of the public school.¹⁰

⁹ Towse, Anna B., "A Healthy Rural America—How?" *Rural America*, March, 1925, p. 6, American Country Life Association, New York.

¹⁰ "School Hygiene Practice," *Rural America*, January, 1927, p. 11, American Country Life Association, New York.

In cities free clinics have been a great boon to the scores of people who have been unacquainted with measures of medical relief. More and more cities are recognizing the ultimate social gains that flow from such extensions of health service. This is in line with society's plans of extending the services of education through the universal establishment of free schools. Democratic society recognizes the liability ignorant people incur. It is beginning to recognize in a constructive way the liability found upon sick and unwell people. To use money and means for prevention is conserving of both human and financial resources.

Medical and psychological examination of school children.

—State boards of health and county health groups are rapidly extending to rural areas a regular plan of examining all children in the schools at least once a year. So far, much of this work has lost in effectiveness because there has been little follow-up practice. Merely to examine children and to send notices to parents of their defects and deficiencies are not enough. Some parents will act to bring about the needed service to the child, but it has been proved that without education and encouragement many do not respond. Free clinics would help to correct this condition. They would also help relieve the minds of parents who feel that the examinations and recommendations are ways of playing them into the hands of medical practitioners. The Russell Sage Foundation states:

Medical inspection is an extension of the activities of the school in which the educator and the physician join hands to insure for each child such conditions of health and vitality as will best enable him to take free advantage of the free education offered by the state. Its object is to better health conditions among school children, safeguard them from disease, and render them healthier, happier, and more vigorous. It is founded upon a recognition of the intimate relationship between the physical and mental conditions of the children, and the consequent dependence of education on health conditions.¹¹

¹¹ Gulick, L. H., and Ayres, L. P., "Medical Inspection of Schools," p. 1, The Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1917.

Evidence has been piling up in the cities within recent years showing the large gains to individuals and society through regularly conducted periodic medical examination of school children. So well developed has the work become that in the case of a recent infantile paralysis epidemic in parts of Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia health authorities advised keeping the schools running because they were able to handle the situation better through the constant attention to the children at school than they could if they were scattered out in their homes.

Results are also accumulating for rural districts:

Dr. F. L. Roberts, health officer of Gibson County, Tennessee, collected data through the Roane County (Tennessee) health unit, covering the period of five years from 1921 to 1925, and concerning approximately 900 children in seven schools. The percentage of defective children fell from 84.3 per cent in 1921 to 67.5 per cent in 1925, a gradual and steady decrease.¹²

In commenting upon this work, the *Hygeia Journal* states:

This noteworthy decline of 20 per cent in the number of defective children in four years, with a decrease of 47 per cent in the total number of defects and an increase of eighty-four fold (7600 per cent) in the number of corrections obtained, furnishes a conclusive reply to any question as to the value of such examinations. The work of examination occupied an average of only 12 days a year per school, with a total cost of 30 cents for each examination and of 60 cents for each correction obtained.¹³

Laws in every state in the Union making periodic health examinations mandatory in all schools, rural and urban, will help to give this much-needed service to rural areas. Up to 1922 only eleven states had such mandatory laws applying to rural schools; these were Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North

¹² "Medical Examination of School Children," *Hygeia*, December, 1926, p. 710, American Medical Association, Chicago, Illinois.

¹³ *Ibid.*

Carolina, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Montana, and Idaho.

Psychological and psychiatric examinations need to accompany the regular medical examinations. The relations between mental and physical health are close and direct. Locating incipient cases of mental and nervous disturbances is fundamental to the prevention of the development of unsocial individuals. By proper psychological and psychiatric tests and examinations many personality twists may be nipped in the bud, many backward children set in their right tracks, and many cases of potential mental unbalance prevented from developing. This work awaits trained leaders for both the city and the country. Persons without specific and broad training and experience in the fields of psychiatry, psychology, sociology, and allied subjects render little service and may give much dis-service in this type of work.

THE RURAL HOSPITAL

One of the greatest aids in stimulating and bracing up rural health conditions would come through a more general development of hospitals within easy reach of rural residents. Directly the hospital furnishes a corps of trained individuals and a supply of up-to-date apparatus and equipment all capable of rendering a service difficult to obtain through any other means. Indirectly the presence of a hospital in a community encourages physicians and nurses to labor there because they know they will have the aid of other trained workers and of up-to-date facilities, all of which will help them function in a manner satisfying to themselves and to their patrons. The rural hospital also becomes a logical center for dispensary and clinical services.

The rural hospital, because of its close relation to the rural community, would be responsive to the psychological and sociological characteristics of rural people, of these the city hos-

pital knows little. The staff of the rural hospital would be cognizant of the health problems of the farmer and of the farm home, and through sympathetic understanding approaches could do a large service in extending usable and serviceable advice to rural patients in health maintenance and in cases of sickness.

Dr. Woods Hutchinson has stated:

For surgical emergencies, diseases, and accidents alone, there should be a free and accessible hospital for at least every 3000 to 4000 of our population, and that no community can call itself properly prepared to deal with disease—call itself medically civilized, in fact—which has not a hospital within easy access of at least 75 per cent of its homes.¹⁴

As indicated in Chapter XII, the unit in hospital service is the bed, and a 25-bed hospital is about the minimum from the point of efficient service which can reasonably be expected to be constructed and maintained. This would give service to 5000 people under ordinary conditions of sickness. Wayne C. Nason thinks that "a hospital of the better kind needs to have the support of about 10,000 people."¹⁵

Certainly it seems reasonable to advocate an available hospital for every rural county in the United States as a beginning proposition. The refinements and extension of service to meet the needs of all sections of the county may proceed from this beginning.

Types of rural hospitals.—Nason¹⁶ in his extensive bulletin on rural hospitals names seven types of hospitals which he found in successful operation in various parts of the United States; they are as follows: (1) county hospitals both separate and connected with the County Home, (2) township hospitals, (3) town hospitals, (4) district hospitals, (5) community

¹⁴ Quoted in Nason, Wayne C., "Rural Hospitals," p. 9, *Farmers' Bulletin*, No. 1485, United States Department of Agriculture.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

hospitals, (6) community-private hospitals, and (7) southern mountain hospitals.

All of these types of hospitals need a sufficient population base, as indicated above, to warrant their establishing standardized equipment, employing skilled assistants, and rendering efficient and continuous service. Hospitals, like consolidated schools, or rural churches, or community organization projects, require that care be taken in insuring necessary patronage and financial support.

Extent of hospital service for rural areas.—We stated in a former section in this chapter that about 45 per cent of the rural counties of the United States do not have hospitals for local or community use.

In some States the supply is less adequate than in others. In Georgia, for instance, only 41 counties out of a total of 160 counties had a hospital of any kind for the use of the general population. In Florida only 23 counties out of a total of 63 counties had such hospitals; in Texas only 96 counties out of 253 counties; in Missouri only 43 counties out of 115 counties; in Kentucky only 46 counties out of 120 counties.¹⁷

Twenty states have passed enabling acts providing counties and other political units with powers to vote and tax themselves for public hospitals. Washington County, Iowa, was the first county in the United States to erect and maintain a county hospital; it was erected in 1912 and has been in continuous operation since. Nason states:

Up to the year 1925 more than 5900 people have been admitted as patients, more than half of them from farm families. Had the hospital not been in operation, some of the major surgical cases would have been sent at great expense to city hospitals. . . . Six hundred babies have been born in the hospital, the mothers and babies receiving there the expert assistance which is lacking in the home.

¹⁷ Draper, W. F., in "Farm Income and Farm Life," p. 254, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1927.

The health example has been inestimable. The people have learned that the hospital is not a place to go to die. They have found out that there are improvements on the old-ways of home and neighborhood nursing and midwifery. From the hospital have come the influences for betterment of community life, school hygiene, better babies, better food supply; the value of cleanliness and pure, clean food in the sick room; the cleanly handling of infectious disease, and the belief that competent nursing is half the battle in fighting disease.¹⁸

A significant plan to help rural areas establish and conduct effective hospital service is that inaugurated by the Commonwealth Fund. Five rural hospitals have been decided upon under this plan. Farmville, Virginia, was chosen for the first one, and the plant has been in operation about one year. The other places selected are Glasgow, Kentucky; Farmington, Maine; Beloit, Kansas, and Waseon, Ohio. The Commonwealth Fund provides two-thirds of the cost of construction and equipment of two hospitals a year to be located in selected rural areas which agree to provide the remainder of the initial expenses and meet the costs of operation and maintenance.

The program contemplates placing these hospitals in rural areas where they will serve a surrounding district with a radius of approximately 35 miles. The communities chosen must give indication of a real need of outside assistance, while at the same time having sufficient economic resources to make possible the fulfillment of their part of the agreement. Favorable conditions for the development of sound public health work and public health nursing are also considered in making the awards.¹⁹

As the rural people become better informed of the large gains to them through more and better hospital service, the gap now existing between city and country in these respects

¹⁸ Nason, Wayne C., "Rural Hospitals," *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁹ *Rural America*, January, 1928, p. 11, The American Country Life Association, New York.

will grow narrower. This will be an important factor also in helping to eradicate the general health and sanitation problems of rural communities.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

One of the most important approaches to the whole problem of rural health and sanitation, from both the sociological and economic points of view, is the county public health service. This is a systematic scheme to bring to every county the best the country has in the way of counsel, methods, and skilled assistance bearing upon general health and sanitation questions. The co-operative relations between the county unit and the state and national public health units assure the working out of this scheme.

Through the county public health service unity of action is secured within the county in matters pertaining to sanitation, communicable disease control, school, infant, and maternity hygiene, tuberculosis control, venereal disease control, and similar factors. Prevention is the keynote of the county public health service. It bases its operations at a strategic point in all constructive social work, namely, upon an enlightened public consciousness. Education of the public by lectures, demonstrations, individual examples, and by personal contact are the means whereby a well-knit health service is developed.

Besides single counties forming a health service, two or more counties may go together and form a unit, or a township or townships within a county may form a unit. As a general rule, however, the county provides the better unit from almost all points of view.

The organization and cost of county health service.—Dr. L. L. Lumsden, of the United States Public Health Service, states, "An annual budget of \$10,000 will provide in most sections of this country the services of a county health department force consisting of one whole-time health officer, one

whole-time sanitary inspector, a whole-time health nurse, and one office clerk. Such a force can render highly effective health service in the average county with a population of about 25,000 and an area of about 500 square miles.”²⁰

Figure 22 gives in diagrammatic form the organization and the various duties of the officers of a typical county health unit.

Financial aid from outside sources is possible in maintaining county public health work. About 87 per cent of the present public health units are receiving some support from one or more of the following sources: the United States Public Health Service, the International Health Board and the Children’s Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. Aid and assistance from state and national bodies help to concentrate the best methods within a county for dealing with health factors.

Extent of rural public health service.—Figure 23 on page 485 shows the counties and districts in the United States employing whole-time public health officers on January 1, 1927.²¹ It will be observed that there are 337 such counties and districts, and that Ohio leads the states with 47; North Carolina is second with 37, and Alabama is third with 30.

The development of full-time public health units has been going forward steadily for the past five or six years, the net gain in 1926 was 30 counties. There is yet 83 per cent of the rural population unprovided with health service of this character.

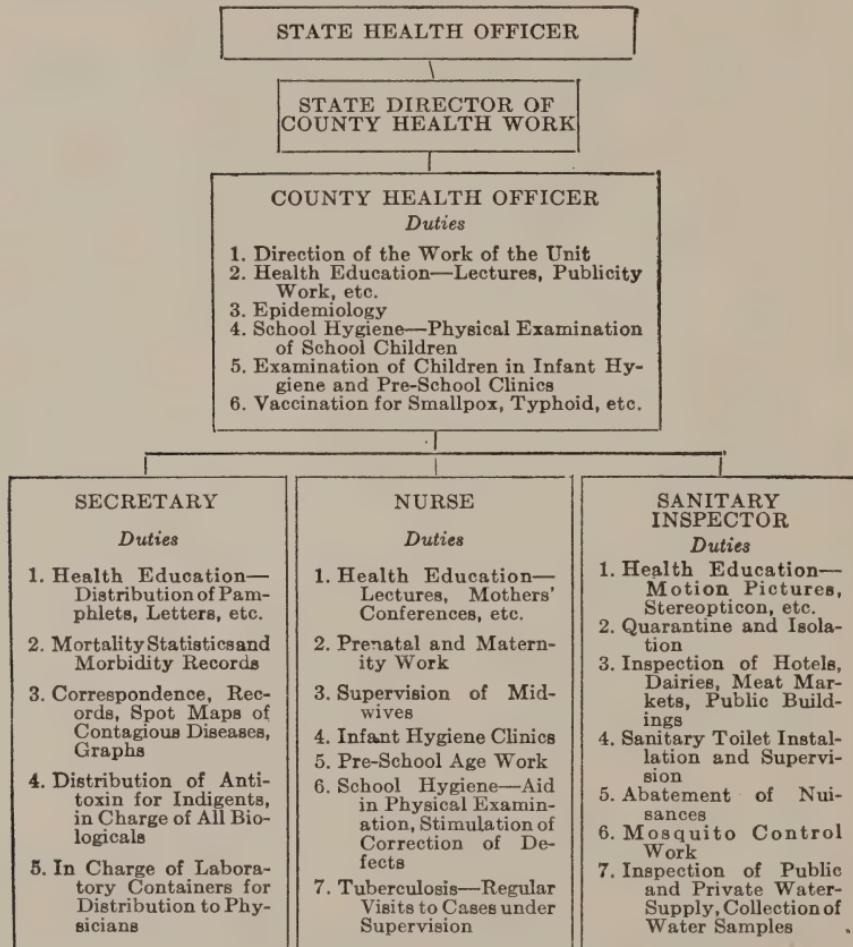
Some results of the rural public health service.—Due to the fact that the present organization of the public health work in the United States is relatively new—having commenced its real growth in 1918—it is difficult to get conclusive checks upon its values. Sufficient material is available, however, to warrant its steady development and strong support.

²⁰ *Public Health Reports*, Vol. 42, No. 42, p. 2547, U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C., October 21, 1927.

²¹ Courtesy of the United States Public Health Service.

FIGURE 22

Organization and Activities of a Typical County Health Unit
in a Rural Community, Population 25,000,
Annual Budget \$10,000 ²²



²² Twelfth Annual Report, International Health Board, p. 119, The Rockefeller Foundation. New York, December 31, 1925.

Figure 24, page 486, shows the progress that has been made in malaria control in Mississippi from 1920 to 1926 through the efforts of co-operating health departments. The figure also shows the rapid increase in numbers of full-time county health departments during these years.

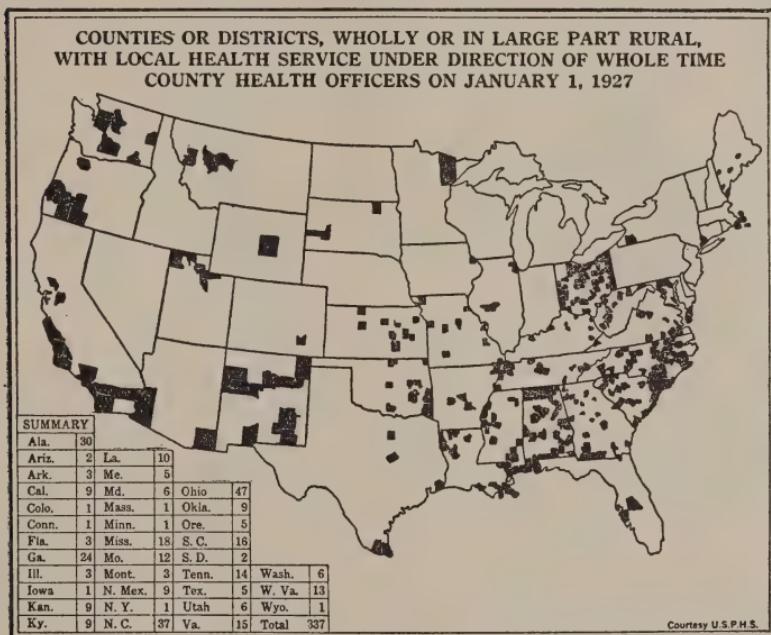


FIGURE 23

One of the early counties in the United States to establish full-time health service was Walker County, Alabama. The work has been continuous there since 1913. The complete house-to-house sanitary survey made in the county in 1915 by the United States Public Health Service, and reported elsewhere in this chapter, gave the county health department valuable aid in its service.

Marked progress has been made in sanitation, in personal hygiene, and in the application of specific measures for the prevention of disease since the whole-time health service was

established. The results are reflected in the lowered death rate, especially from diseases such as typhoid fever and enteritis, diphtheria, scarlet fever, malaria, and tuberculosis, which are more readily susceptible to control measures.

The infant death rate per 1000 living births in 1913—the year immediately before the whole-time health service became

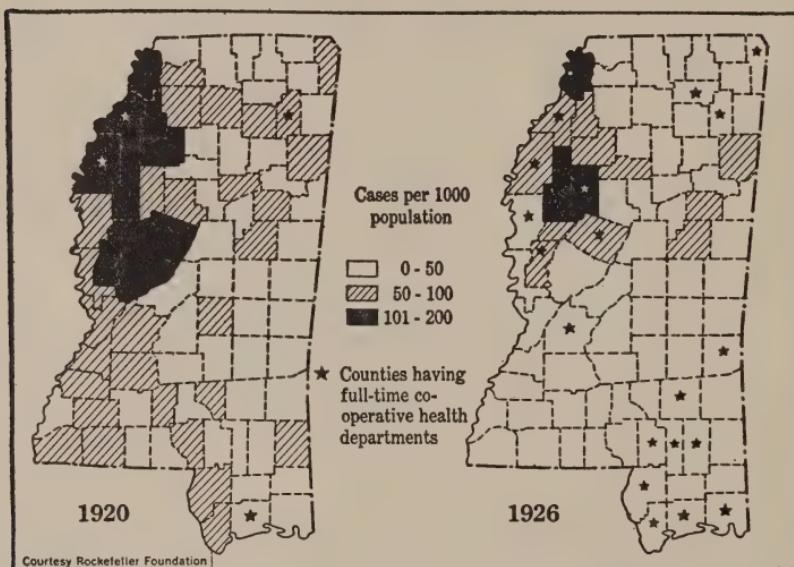


FIG. 24.—Cases of Malaria per Thousand Population in Mississippi Counties in 1920 and in 1926.²³

operative—was 155; in 1926 it was 60. The death rate per 1000 population for all causes in 1913 was 17, as against 10.9 in 1926. The population of Walker County is now about 60,000. A lowering of the death rate by 6 points, therefore means 360 fewer deaths a year. For every death prevented by health work about 10 cases of incapacitating disease are prevented. The average case of such illness prevented would cost in wage loss and in expenses for the care of the sick, about

²³ *Thirteenth Annual Report, International Health Board*, p. 118, The Rockefeller Foundation, New York, December 31, 1926.

\$100. Thus the economic saving to the citizens of Walker County from their investment for progressive health work can be estimated at \$360,000 a year. The average annual expenditure from all sources for the support of the county health service in their county for the last five years has been **\$8800.41.**

SUMMARY

Probably no one factor has caused greater interest to be taken in rural health conditions than the discovery that the country districts have been losing ground to the city in matters of health preservation. The practice of carefully recording vital statistics, which is now spreading to all of the states, has substituted facts for guesses relative to many details of health. A smug complacency has too long characterized attitudes towards rural health problems. It has been found that fresh air, outdoor life, and other rural assets are valuable adjuncts to maintaining good conditions of living, but that they alone, especially in competition with certain definite disadvantages, will not answer present-day needs.

Lack of knowledge of rural health conditions, therefore, has been basic to the tardy development of aids and measures for the conservation of the farmer's health. Skill, training, hospitals, clinics, sanitation, and organization have all come to center in urban districts to meet the demands of city life. The country has just been coming to a realization that it occupies a relatively neglected position. Surveys and demonstrations, published reports, lectures, and periodical literature have all helped to give information of the need of better health facilities for rural districts. Much remains to be done, however, for superstition, mis-information, and prejudice still prevail in many areas. The work of the Rockefeller Foundation, The Commonwealth Fund, The Children's Bureau, The United States Public Health Service, various state health

departments, and the American Medical Association all has been constructive and most productive of improvement. That these efforts are meeting approval is attested by the fact that such significant farm organizations as the Grange and the Farm Bureau have openly expressed their appreciation and have given valuable assistance.

In order to help meet the deficiency of rural physicians the National Grange and leading medical authorities have gone so far as to propose that the medical schools give special attention to training men especially for rural practice. The establishment of rural hospitals, clinics, nursing service, and county public health unit is consistent with the above suggestions of the Grange and the medical authorities, and is rendering invaluable service to the farmer.

CHAPTER XX

RURAL ART AND RECREATION

The social significance of art.—Art makes its chief appeal to man through his emotional constitution. We well know that the emotions are of basic importance in social response and social action. Recognizing these relationships, men through all ages have employed art in its many and varied forms as a means of both individual and social development and enjoyment. A large share of the values of life comes to us through our emotions. We see how necessary it is, therefore, that the emotions have the best kind of cultivation and education in order that the individual may experience a well-rounded existence and that society may duly profit thereby. Art, whether it be native or natural, or the product of man, has potentialities of vast usefulness in molding and directing social development.

Æsthetical values.—Art teaches an appreciation of the beautiful, awakening, at times, a sense of the sublime. Thought and action are stimulated under these conditions, and ideals may be made dynamic. A community of people with well developed æsthetic senses which it seeks to satisfy through the various ways of artistic expression is usually wholesome, tolerant, amicable, and sociable.

The æsthetic appeal often reaches the individual through matters of dress and personal taste. We all know that while clothes do not make the individual, in a general way, one is judged by his fellows by the care and taste he displays in his personal appearance. We cannot help giving some credit for neatness and skill in personal appearance. Not only is the

direct influence great upon one's associates, but the individual's own self-respect and morale are affected by his aesthetic tastes. Art possesses values of developing a sensitive moral self in that it stirs the emotions, develops a taste for the beautiful, and soothes the feelings through harmonious relations and symmetry.

Art as a socializer.—Professor Bushee makes the statement:

Art not only reacts upon society through its development of the individual but it plays its own particular part in the work of socialization for individuals continually subjected to the same emotional stimuli come to be similar. Art therefore should be classed among the forces tending towards social integration. Art in its various forms depicts national achievements and ideals sufficiently to arouse strong national sentiments. Yet the socializing influence of art is not confined by political boundaries. Music, literature, and the drama may possess an appeal so universal as to become bonds between nations.¹

The development of community planning, of pleasing lawns, highways, public places, and orderly homes and buildings has a utilitarian function in aiding social organization by fostering the socialization process. Rural art is in its embryonic stages along these lines.

Art as a humanizer.—There is little doubt that art engenders a wholesomeness of character and personality which makes for a greater human feeling and response. The appeal to the finer senses and the deeper emotions of an individual through the appreciation of things of art and beauty make for a greater sensitiveness of human values.

The truly big men in business and professional life are generally found to be keen appreciators of the artistic and to possess a great range of human understanding. In agricul-

¹ Bushee, F. A., "Principles of Sociology," p. 493, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1923.

ture, the breeders of fine live-stock are almost always men of a broad human sense, and keen students of art as displayed in the animal form.

The educational value of art.—Without a sense of the artistic, one may be almost devoid of what is called good taste and a knowledge of proper proportions and relations; this may be exhibited in the extreme degree as crudity, even under the best intentions of the individual. Art, therefore, educates one along the lines of seeking good choices and good proportions. We all have seen individuals possessed of wealth who were pitiable examples of undeveloped artistic senses as exhibited through their uses of the wealth. Inharmonious ostentations will often be seen, especially among the newly rich, which only serve to portray their poverty of artistic knowledge. Art will aid in obtaining for one the higher values of life. The farmer has as much need of this aid as anyone else, for he is first and always a social being; he is interested in a complete and satisfying life that brings harmony and inspiration to himself and to his fellow-men. Every normal human being wants to experience the fullness of life; he cannot do this with a dulled sense of appropriate relations between objects and social values. Art aids in quickening and in refining the intellect to the point of sensing those higher values of human existence.

Professor R. E. Hieronymus,² in writing of the purpose of the Art Extension Committee of Illinois, states that it is to assist in making art a more potent elevating force in the lives of the people of the State of Illinois. It aims to help the people to discover beauty in nature and to enjoy it, to recognize beauty in art and to appreciate it, and to stimulate the production of beautiful things.

² "Art Extension in Illinois," *Rural America*, May, 1925, p. 3. The American Country Life Association, New York.

RURAL ART OPPORTUNITIES

Native endowments.—The countryside has rich opportunities for the development of native art, especially in landscape design. This is a form of art which the lover of the country keenly enjoys, and which he can have in abundance if he plans for its extension and elaboration. A principal feature of the Illinois Art Extension Committee, just mentioned, is to aid rural people in developing the outdoor possibilities of artistic design which are so abundant in rural sections. The slogan of the Committee is, "See Illinois First." It plans trips, chiefly by automobile, through portions of the state possessing certain natural advantages in landscape forms. Local neighborhood and community committees, where the people have become sufficiently interested in beautification projects, co-operate with the committee in planning trips and in carrying out local developmental plans.

A study of native woods, shrubs, and other plants as to their adaptability for different planting plans is an important feature of a comprehensive outdoor art plan. Usually where a county possesses a growth of timber, shrubs, trees, and vines may be found which are of the best quality for decorative planting around homes and other buildings, in parks, and along streets and highways.

A concerted community, county, or state action for the preservation of some socially important spots of native woods is highly commendable and has actually been accomplished in several states. The beautification of road sides with plantings is in its initial stages in most sections of America. Sometimes fruit and nut trees have been used for this purpose, but not always to advantage, because of the problems involved in their care and proper attention throughout the bearing season. Stream lines, ponds, and lakes all possess potentialities of lending unique values to the landscape. Geological prominences afford opportunity of displaying native ruggedness; water-

falls and cataracts are also often valuable and prized because of their beauty. Many of these phenomena of nature are being protected by the state, and in not a few cases are being surrounded by state parks so they may be used by the public, and at the same time preserved for posterity.

The farmer lives in an environment teeming with possibilities of artistic development which many urban residents would do almost everything to have in their districts. When the countryside awakens more thoroughly to the far-reaching social values of these possessions, there will be less of dreary monotony and evident neglect about the rural environment.

That some country people do appreciate their wealth of opportunity to enjoy forms of art, and especially the artistic manifestations of nature, is well illustrated by the following incident related by Professor E. R. Groves:

Occasionally I have been asked by city people whether I have ever known farmers to be interested in nature as a thing of beauty. The question always reminds me of an experience I had some years ago in a small English village. I arrived late in the afternoon, and after taking lodgings it was suggested by my landlord that I walk up to the top of a neighboring hill and view the sunset. As I went along the path I met four or five farmers returning from their labor in the fields. We entered into conversation, and the men were kind enough, when they found my errand, to tell me that they were also climbing to the top of the hill. Much of their talk, as we proceeded, was with reference to weather, crops, and prices. Finally I arrived at the top just in time to see the beginning of a glorious sunset. To my surprise the men also were interested, and later I discovered that they had climbed the hill for the same purpose as myself. As we watched the sun set over a beautiful lake, to my amazement the men entered upon a discussion of the problem of painting the distant splendor which revealed remarkable knowledge of the technique of painting and an uncommon appreciation of natural beauty. The men were farmers, earning their livelihood with toil, but they were also lovers of art. The explanation was not hard to find. I was at Windemere, the home of John Ruskin.

The influence of the great lover of art had become pervasive, reinforced by the work of the poet Wordsworth, whose humble cottage I had visited on the trip to the village. Ästhetic appreciation had become a neighborhood possession.³

Rural homes and their surroundings.—A cultivated sense of the fitness of things and of harmonious relationships would do much to obviate many positively incongruous farm building plans and arrangements. In many cases one may see the results of a most thoughtless development of house and lawn, fences, outbuildings, and lot arrangements.

As mentioned above, certain native growths may be used around buildings, on the lawn and along the highways. The style, size, height, and facing of the farmhouse should fit the surroundings. This means a distinctive rural architecture with lines adapted to broad open spaces. Simplicity, convenience, beauty, and grace may all be united in both the exterior and interior of the farm home.

From the point of view of both health and artistic design, considerable space is needed between the house and out-buildings, such as the barns and sheds, and between the house and the lots for the live-stock and farming operations. A careful grouping of buildings will save labor and also harmonize the buildings one with another and with the general farm setting.

THE SOCIAL ARTS, AND RECREATION

Music.—This is a welcome art in most rural communities. It affords opportunity for solitary enjoyment and for group participation. That it has long played a significant part in these roles is attested by the stories of old time fiddlers, singing schools or all day sings, rural orchestras, bands, and quartettes. A great deal of the talent engaged in these developments has had little opportunity for skilled leadership and

³ Quoted from a Letter to Author.

training, but even so, every rural resident can testify to the real virtues of the entertainment thus afforded. The accomplishments under such conditions only serve to indicate what might be the results with better opportunities for the leadership and development of the musical talent in rural areas.

That the problems relating to instruction in music are being met, in part at least, is indicated by the systematic teaching of it in consolidated and centralized rural schools, to the extent sometimes of employing special teachers. These teachers generally organize orchestras and bands, conduct community singing, and take leadership in the musical life of the rural area. Often college extension leaders are sent out to rural districts to assist in musical instruction and the organization of musical studies. The return of the old folk-songs and dances in some rural districts has awakened a new appreciation along these lines.

A movement of great importance in connection with music development in rural areas is reported from the University of Minnesota. Here a music memory contest is being fostered among the children in the rural schools of the state.

The aim of the contest is to foster teaching of music appreciation among country children and to encourage the development of their taste for good music, both popular and classic selections. Rural schools are expected to familiarize the children with a list of selections available either through records for phonograph or performance on piano or other instrument. A "team" of these people, selected to represent each school, will enter the final contest at the University. Selections will be played or sung without announcement of any kind, taken, however, from the list originally furnished to the schools, and the children will be expected to give the name of the selection and of the composer. In conducting this contest the University emphasizes the need for music appreciation training in country communities and schools and extends its education extension service to this new and fertile field.⁴

⁴ "Music Appreciation in Rural Communities," *Rural America*, March, 1926, p. 12, The American Country Life Association, New York.

The training of rural teachers in summer schools in order that they may be able to lead their schools and communities in music, drama, and pageantry is now a recognized policy in a large number of educational institutions. The University of Wisconsin has taken considerable leadership along these lines and has been enrolling scores of teachers each summer in this work.

The use of the radio as a means of receiving the musical programs from the cities and from musical centers throughout the country has stimulated music appreciation in rural communities in no small way. In a recent survey of rural radio owners in a mid-western state, it was learned that the most popular type of music with them was standard classical music as opposed to the jazz and emotional type of music.

The church in rural districts has been backward in keeping abreast of the increasing appreciation of good music. In far too many cases rural church music shows neglect and inattention. The musical instruments are often poor, and the choir, if there is one, shows little training and leadership. Small wonder that the musical programs of city churches is one of the incentives that attracts the farm family either by radio or in person. The rural church has failed to make full use of music opportunities as a vital part of its service.

The drama and pageant.—There is a wealth of material in most rural communities for the development of some form of drama or pageantry. These forms of art make a strong appeal because of the close connections they may make with the community life, and because of the large amount of local talent they may use.

The drama is a presentation containing fewer players and with more clearly cut plots than the pageant. Pageantry lends itself to communal participation and, as Halsey⁵ states, is coming to mean the expression of the life of a community portrayed by members of that community.

⁵ "The Historical Pageant in the Rural Community," Extension *Bulletin*, No. 54, p. 319, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1922.

The moral and social values of these two forms of the social arts have great reach. The vivid portrayal of characters and events makes impressions of lasting significance. The drama and pageantry give an unexcelled opportunity for calling back and impressing upon the present generation the virtues, as well as the trials and tribulations, of the older generation. These intimate connections with community life and development help to build up local loyalty, pride, and general rural satisfaction.

The wealth of human interest that may flow from pageantry is illustrated from the following story of a pageant given at Southhampton, Long Island:

One locality, without the aid of anyone especially gifted, made its own pageant—one so beautiful that it will be remembered to the latest day of the youngest child who saw it. An important anniversary in the town was pending, and all agreed that something should be done by way of celebration. The school-teacher in the community suggested a pageant. The wise men said, "No! A street parade is the one and only fitting celebration of an historical event," and mentioned the one which had been held 25 years before. However, six weeks before the date of the celebration the wise men came to agree with the school-teacher, and the pageant book committee went to work. Such studying of old histories, such ransacking of grandmother's attic treasures, such interesting evenings together with pencil and paper and books and ideas! There was a rich historical background: the town had been the oldest English settlement in the State; there were remnants of an Indian tribe living near; the earlier generations of white men had followed the sea; but the present, alas, looked hopelessly uninteresting—plain storekeepers and farmers and summer boarders, with a new element in people of foreign birth. But there were those on the committee who had imagination (a very necessary qualification in the making of pageants), and the last episode was so managed that it drew all the previous episodes together and made clear to the audience the meaning of the whole action. Such was the pageant at Southampton, Long Island.⁶

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 326.

The Little Theater in North Dakota: The development of drama and plays through the spread of the theater has been rather extensive in some rural sections of the country. Probably no one has labored more diligently and successfully in this field than Professor A. G. Arvold of the North Dakota Agricultural College. For more than 16 years he has been planning and assisting in the execution of plays given in rural communities of North Dakota.

Not only have the best plays of all ages been given by country people in North Dakota but they themselves have written and produced their own drama with artistic finish and a genuineness of expression that signifies that it is not only play-acting but life itself that they are portraying. Drama in North Dakota is truly "not a luxury for the classes but an instrument for the enlightenment, self-expression and enjoyment of the masses."⁷

Folk-Plays in North Carolina: In North Carolina, under the leadership of Frederick H. Koch of the State University, we find a similar movement in progress. Professor Koch has established what he calls the Carolina Folk-Plays suggestive of a new type of native theater.

They are pioneer plays of North Carolina life. The stories and characters are drawn by the writers from their own tradition, and from their observation of the lives of their own people.

They are wholly native—simple plays of the locality, of common experience and of common interest.⁸

Koch thinks that the interest and enthusiasm these plays stir up and the general training they give to the people, even though they are local in their origins, serve to liberalize them

⁷ "The Little Theater," by A. G. Arvold, quoted from Israel and Landis, "Handbook of Rural Social Resources," p. 27, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1926.

⁸ Koch, F. A., "Carolina Folk-Plays," p. xii, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1922.

and to make for greater contentment and satisfaction in life. In other words, they help to build and to fasten a truly significant type of rural culture which reflects the best things in rural life.

Universities, colleges, extension divisions of these and other institutions, the American Red Cross, the Christian Associations, The American Playground and Recreation Association are among the leading institutions and organizations aiding in the development of the social arts in rural communities. Trained leaders and definite community organization plans are needed to make more effective the services of these outside agencies. These will also bring about a better mobilization and use of local talent.

RECREATION AND PLAY

Rural people need wider uses of recreation and play as much as other persons. A sternly practical turn of mind has blinded the farmer to the many immediate and long time values of these forms of activity. Play and recreation bring a most wholesome and necessary relaxation to mind and body which enables them to function with greater ease and efficiency. These are truly natural processes; and if one did no more than follow the mere dictations of nature, he would make his play and recreation as regular as his meals and his sleep. Simple observation of animal life serves to remind us of the spontaneity and naturalness of play in the life of the animal being.

Social importance.—The sociological significance of play and recreation is similar to that of the other arts. Besides the joy imparted, and besides other subjective value to the individual, they are most useful means for providing social contacts and for the development of the socialization process. Under the spell of play the individual loses his reserve and becomes a natural co-operating being. A fellow-feeling may also be

developed, which tends to be carried over into the more serious affairs of business and professional life. Opportunities for leadership are numerous in well-organized play; loyalty to group and principles is developed.

Mental values.—The mental life of the individual is stimulated, and he is taught alertness and quickness in decision. Altruism and a keen recognition of the rights of others are learned in a way that appeals to one's moral sense and good judgment. In fact, a set of ethics accompanies every form of play, which serves to induct the individual into the accepted rights of the group. Through play one learns co-ordination of muscles, thoughts, and actions and thereby develops self-confidence, skill, and grace. Perseverance and determination in order to attain goals are cultivated. Surely the values reaped through play and recreation better fit one for his economic and social contests.

Physical development and play.—Henry S. Curtis, one of America's foremost leaders in recreational movements among farmers, in writing of physical education in rural schools, tells of the farmers' general lack of appreciation of this type of education. He thinks that this indifference comes from two fundamental misunderstandings: namely, that physical education is designed to give mere physical strength; and second, that it represents an unproductive use of idle time. Wherever a worthwhile and consistent program of physical education gains a foothold, it tends to win its way and show its far-reaching importance.

Mere physical strength, as the farmer has understood, is not the aim of physical education; it is only a part of the work. Health, through the development of the muscles and vital organs, good posture, complexion, a symmetrical figure, sprightliness, and grace, are all striven for, also the development of social adjustments and the formation of the right social and ethical habits and attitudes are aims constantly striven for through well-ordered play life.

As to the charge of wasted time which one often hears in rural sections, Curtis says:

Play is nature's method of education and the only method of education in the animal world. So far as the small child is concerned, it is the source of nearly all activity and nearly all education. It is in play that the child becomes socially adjusted and learns how to get on with other children and make friends. Habits are not formed by learning principles but only in the active side of life. Most habits of honesty or dishonesty, courtesy or discourtesy, selfishness or unselfishness, co-operation or the opposite, are by-products of the play-life of the child.⁹

It can be well observed by many examples among farmers generally that a strict adherence to the routine labors of the farm without relaxation and recreational changes is likely to produce warped physical growth and awkward and clumsy habits. Proper recreational indulgence will introduce a greater suppleness and buoyancy which will lead to better health habits and a more poignant personality.

Types of recreation for rural life.—Recreation is winning a place in rural America, although it may be late in arriving in many areas. We can hardly say, however, that it has not had a place in the past, for we are reminded of the pastimes of the pioneers and settlers with their log rollings, square dances, sleighing parties, barbecues, and the like. With the changing social conditions there is a need today of developing definite forms of recreation for country people and for spreading their influence more regularly and universally than has been the case in the past.

Surveys have indicated that rural residents involuntarily choose those types of recreation which give them considerable social contact. The Institute of Social and Religious Research

⁹ Curtis, Henry S., "Physical Education in the Rural School," *Rural America*, February, 1927, p. 7, American Country Life Association, New York.

in a study of choices of types of recreation as given by 3040 village boys and 2119 country boys found that the latter, in more cases than the former, sought the types of recreation which gave them group action.

Professor C. E. Lively found in Paulding County, Ohio, the following preferences among persons eleven years of age and over:

TABLE 30

THE TEN MOST WIDESPREAD RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF INDIVIDUALS ELEVEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, CLASSIFIED AS TO SEX. PAULDING COUNTY, OHIO ¹⁰

<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>	
<i>Activity</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Sunday Visiting.....	77.4	Reading.....	78.3
Reading.....	75.2	Sunday Visiting.....	78.3
Fairs.....	74.0	Fairs.....	71.5
Picnics.....	61.5	Picnics.....	61.8
Institutes.....	57.2	Church Sociables.....	55.3
Horseshoe.....	50.8	Concerts.....	50.5
Fishing.....	50.5	Institutes.....	49.8
Hunting.....	49.8	Reunions.....	48.9
Concerts.....	48.6	Fancy Work.....	43.0
Reunions, Church Sociables	47.4	Home Parties, Lectures..	41.1

Paulding County is a fairly prosperous farming county of northwestern Ohio. The people are largely of German descent. In a poorer agricultural section in southeastern Ohio, where social conditions are more backward, Lively got a somewhat different rating of recreational events, as may be observed by the following table:

¹⁰ Lively, C. E., "Rural Recreation in Two Ohio Counties," p. 71, *Bulletin 1, Graduate Series, Ohio State University, Columbus, 1927.*

TABLE 31

THE TEN MOST WIDESPREAD RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF INDIVIDUALS ELEVEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, CLASSIFIED AS TO SEX. GALLIA COUNTY, OHIO ¹¹

<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>	
<i>Activity</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Picnics.....	84.6	Church Sociables.....	81.7
Church Sociables.....	75.6	Picnics.....	80.0
Fairs.....	68.5	Ice Cream Sociables.....	70.5
Ice Cream Sociables.....	67.0	Fairs.....	68.8
Hunting.....	62.0	Sunday Visiting.....	57.6
Feeds.....	59.3	Feeds.....	57.6
Sunday Visiting.....	57.7	Evening Visiting.....	53.9
Evening Visiting.....	56.9	Fancy Work.....	46.1
Horseshoe.....	40.7	Reading.....	44.7
Fishing.....	39.2	Singing.....	39.6

In Tables 30 and 31 it will be seen that reading holds decidedly different ratings. In Paulding County it ranks high, 75.2 per cent for males and 78.3 per cent for females, but in Gallia County it is not mentioned as a type of recreation for males and ranks only 44.7 per cent for females. This one thing probably helps to account for the fact that Gallia County is more backward than Paulding County.

Reading is a form of recreation that has decided advantages for rural districts. It can be carried on in isolation; it acts as a complement to the active physical life of the farmer, and it is a most useful way to utilize leisure time. The thriftiness shown by Danish farmers in making the reading of history, literature, and science a regular means of recreation helps to explain their high degree of literacy and general levels of culture.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*

The possibilities of leading people to develop and maintain recreational life that is constructive in both social development and character building needs to be kept uppermost. Aimless and superficial use of leisure time generally characterizes a lack of leadership or deficiency in ideals. Mere loafing, as often seen around stores and barber shops in hamlets and small towns, is wasteful of human resources.

It is desirable in planning recreational projects for rural areas that their general local usefulness be given much consideration. Recreation should yield a true compensatory value and thus help to meet the deficiencies in one's daily work. A transplantation of urban types of recreation to rural areas, without the above consideration, is likely to spell defeat for the project.

Professor E. C. Lindeman¹² has suggested some valuable points along the lines just mentioned. He says the following are some of the important needs in rural recreational schemes:

1. To give compensatory development for some of the physical requirements of rural labors:
 - (a) Games which involve the free use of the entire body.
 - (b) Games which require precision of action.
 - (c) Games employing the expression of the rhythmic instinct.
2. For psycho-physiological development:
 - (a) Games which involve co-operative action.
 - (b) Games which involve attention or the use of the higher nerve centers.
 - (c) Games which are mentally exhilarating.

Group games, organized athletics, folk dancing, and community singing would be among the chief forms covering the above points, according to Lindeman.

As further suggestions concerning the requirements for games and forms of recreation adaptable to rural areas, the

¹² Report of Committee on Recreation, *Rural Health*, p. 121, American Country Life Association, New York.

above author¹³ names several as follows: (1) the ones safe to health; (2) in which small as well as large numbers may participate; (3) which may be played by all age groups, and (4) by both sexes; (5) in which elaborate and expensive equipment is not necessary; (6) in which considerable co-operation between players is required, and (7) which are locally fitted to the life of the particular rural community.

There are many opportunities available for utilizing environmental factors in the development of play and recreation in the country, which we saw was also true of some of the more formal arts. A knowledge of how to use the environment to the best advantage is a first essential. Locally developed forms always have greater influence and awaken a deeper feeling than the imported types of recreation. There is much need of further study and elaboration of forms of rural recreation together with more general application of the principles we have already discovered. Recreation leaders who have a vision of the possibilities are much needed.

Robert G. Foster, in writing of a recent meeting of the National Recreation Congress, informs us that many valuable suggestions were developed relating to rural recreation. He says, "The first and most far-reaching suggestion was that a permanent committee be appointed on rural recreation, this committee to be appointed by the American Playground Association and to function through them, not only to arrange discussions of rural recreation at the annual meeting, but also to work for the development of the rural program throughout the entire year. It was brought out very clearly that while there is much available at the present time dealing with games, music, drama, pageantry, story telling, etc., the proper co-ordination of those forces having the available material and information and those agencies who are reaching out into the rural communities is not such as to make available in the

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 129-131.

most effective way this vast fund of very excellent information."¹⁴

INSTITUTIONALIZED AIDS FOR RURAL RECREATION

The rural home.—The first place to begin with a rural recreational program is with the rural home. Little can be accomplished if the attitudes in the homes are contrary to the development of leisure time and to the use of it in constructive recreational ways. Oftentimes parents who are doubtful of the values of recreation for adults may, under skillful guidance, grant its uses for juvenile life. Rural parents who do not take part in home recreational features are missing one of their supreme opportunities for a fuller life and a valuable service to their children.

Play space is available about every rural home; with the proper encouragement, and generally a minimum of equipment, this may be fitted for many games that the different ages and sexes may engage in together. Besides these are the relatively near-at-hand facilities for hunting, fishing, and picnicking together or with the neighbor. In all forms of outdoor recreation the country occupies a favored position over the city. So it is with the farm family, which can easily use recreation as a further means of cementing family ties and common interests.

Due to isolation from recreational centers the rural home can afford to build up recreational facilities for indoor use in the winter time and during shut-in days. Books, games, the radio, music, dancing, and parties are assets along these lines which the home needs for both young and old.

The school.—Next to the home to help further the ideals and practices of rural recreation comes the school. Here, also, we may find many glaring deficiencies. If it is a one-room

¹⁴ Foster, Robt. G., "A Program of Rural Recreation," *Rural America*, April, 1927, p. 11, American Country Life Association, New York.

school, the teacher may be totally lacking in ability and interest. Again, few children in the school and no equipment-aids may further dampen the proposition. Something worth while under almost any circumstances may be accomplished if there is a willingness on the part of teacher and pupil. Many simple and useful games may be played out-of-doors in good weather as well as indoors on inclement days. It is often truly pathetic, however, to witness in scores of small rural schools the total disregard given by the teacher to recreational projects. Boys and girls are often seen standing around poking cheap fun at one another or developing vicious habits under such conditions. They are learning nothing of the great values which flow from organized play and contests; and as a consequence, they go from such places dwarfed in constructive ways and means of using leisure time.

In larger schools, and in many consolidated systems, the conditions are generally better. Often a recreational leader may be employed, who devotes all or almost all his time to the work of organizing and conducting games, plays, pageants, and the like for both school and community. There is developing throughout the country a keen appreciation of the place the larger school occupies in the recreational life of young people and adults. Much remains yet to be accomplished, but sufficient has been done to point the way towards effective service from this type of institution.

In a study of recreational activities provided at consolidated rural schools in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama the author found many important rural relations developed, some of which were discussed in Chapter XV. The consolidated school with its large group of pupils and teachers proved a nucleating and organizing force for many kinds of recreation. Some of those which were mentioned in the foregoing chapter were: boys' and girls' clubs, community dances, picnics, literary societies, barbecues, fairs, plays, pageants, and moving picture shows.

A study of special facilities provided by the consolidated school to aid in recreation showed: athletic fields, bleachers, basketball goals, football goals, baseball diamonds, tennis courts, recreational instructors, and inside gymnasiums with their equipment. Many schools were only incompletely furnished along the lines mentioned here. "Definite training of pupils by properly qualified recreation or physical-culture teachers is just commencing to be in evidence in a few parts of the three states studied. . . . A trained teacher in the community who can lead in developing and staging adult recreational events is to be looked upon as a most desirable asset. The consolidated rural school, by virtue of its size, may well afford to employ such a person. Small school units cannot profit in this way, because of the lack of adequate funds and supporting population."¹⁵

Cook and Deffenbaugh of the National Bureau of Education of the Department of Interior state:

Children who learn to co-operate in school through games continue the habit in after life and are more apt to become co-operative farmers. Their social life and outlook broaden because larger contacts are possible, and opportunity is given each to measure himself against his peers and to develop his own ability.¹⁶

Thus we see the rural school is an important part of the program of providing recreational aids for the rural population. It is occupying a larger and more useful place in this line as its work grows in recognition and support.

The rural church.—Church organizations have not long been in the field of rural recreational activities. They are, however, finding it more and more to their advantage to help foster and provide recreational life for their community. The example of the Louisiana church, which was given in Chapter

¹⁵ Hayes, Augustus W., "The Community Value of the Consolidated Rural School," pp. 33-34, *Research Bulletin No. 2*, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1923.

¹⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*

XVII, furnishes an illustration of what a church may do in the field of recreational activities.

In many respects the Christian associations have been leaders in providing organization, equipment, recreation centers, camps, and definite instruction. These organizations, however, have not spread far into the rural districts; their leadership and assistance are more available for city boys and girls than they are for country boys and girls. In most of the few counties of the country where there are county Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A. leaders, recreational activities of these organizations have been extremely helpful and valuable for the rural youth.

In a study of rural recreation in the two Ohio counties above referred to, Professor C. E. Lively found in Gallia County that in 34 open country churches five had no social or recreational activities.

Eight reported one event each, a program or picnic during the year. Four reported from two to three programs each, usually Christmas, Easter, and Children's Day. The remaining 17 gave a total of 21 socials, 43 programs, four bazaars, two union picnics, six lectures, six Sunday School class parties, and four church suppers. Considerable variation existed between the churches of this group, the most active being a Methodist church which offered six socials, six class parties, six lectures, and three program entertainments during the year. Here again the Ladies' Aid played an important part in all of these activities.¹⁷

In summarizing the recreational activities of the churches of the two Ohio counties, Lively seems to feel that they are backward in such matters. He says:

The numerous struggling open country churches in Gallia County are largely without resident pastors and frequently in conflict with one another. The churches of Paulding County are to a greater

¹⁷ Lively, C. E., "Rural Recreation in Two Ohio Counties," *op. cit.*, p. 21.

degree centered in the villages and have more resident pastors. With the exception of five churches in this county, four Protestant and one Catholic, none in either county functions in a way which is likely to aid much in the solution of the recreational problems of the country. In Gallia County one-half, and in Paulding County slightly more than one-half of the churches favored a recreational program. But they are neither equipped nor organized at present to offer such a program.¹⁸

Professor Lively's study is, no doubt, typical of rural church work and attitudes in the field of rural recreation. That this is gradually changing we know by examples he cited and by others observable in almost every section of the country. Ministerial associations and conferences, and state and national church bodies are championing a program along recreation lines which is sure to show large results in the future as rural churches reorganize their plans, and rebuild their plants.

Rural clubs, societies and organizations.—The various juvenile and adult organizations in rural sections, aside from the ones already mentioned, occupy an important place in helping to provide recreational features for their patrons.

The Grange and Farm Bureau have regular programs which generally include lectures, plays, pageants, banquets, picnics, and outings. With these large and well-correlated state and national orders much valuable interchange of programs and plans takes place. They also foster schemes of recreation which include all ages and the two sexes, thus giving opportunity for family participation.

Fraternal bodies, like the Masons, Odd Fellows, and Woodmen, offer their members and their families more or less infrequent opportunities to engage in purely recreational and social programs. In some sections of the country the fraternities have tended to hamper community recreation because there are so many of them that practically every night is

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

taken by their meetings. The impulse behind the popularity seems not so much desire for recreation as love of joining, holding office, etc.

The various types of boys' and girls' project clubs, discussed in Chapter XVI, are proving valuable because of their good connections with county and state leaders. Although much of their work is of an educational nature, they do not neglect making some use of the potentialities they possess in the way of recreational development. Wherever it is possible in a section of a county to get enough club boys and girls together, a local organization is formed which has both an educational and a recreational program. They may also hold field days and picnics, and have camping excursions.

The community.—Where effective community organization has been perfected, a recreational division with leaders and programs may provide the unity needed for a well-rounded scheme of rural recreation. The community might provide a park, playgrounds, and recreational instruction.

Significant in rural recreation are recent Pennsylvania laws authorizing county and township boards of recreation. Chester County, under its superintendent of recreation, is training rural recreation leaders. Some of the results are development of athletics, neighborhood social evenings, new community halls, school recreation under leadership, provision for recreation at fairs, promotion of Christmas programs, and establishment of recreation clubs.

In Butte County, California, the County recreation director furnishes recreation programs to the recreation directors of the farm bureau centers, organizes recreation evenings for farm bureaus and other organizations, organizes community players, community play days, Christmas festivals, farm bureau picnics, and Camp Fire Girl circles. Every farm bureau in the State has a recreation committee.

According to studies made, farm communities are taking advanced steps in both indoor and outdoor recreation features. The farm bureaus of Kendall and Whiteside Counties, Illinois, Weber County, Utah, and three California counties formed baseball leagues. Farm-

ers' outdoor swimming pools were constructed in Gage County, Nebraska, and Phelps County, Missouri. The farm boys' band of Harrison Township, Boone County, Iowa, and the boys' band organized by the grange at Concord, Minnesota, are examples.¹⁹

Through the ownership and development of county and community parks the way is paved for valuable rural recreation work. In these parks city and country people may mingle to the advantage of both; native shrubs and plants and wild animal life may be preserved in some sections of the park; athletic, picnic, chautauqua, and camping sites will receive first consideration.

SUMMARY

The services of art and recreation to the farm family and the rural community have been shown to have definite cultural and socializing values. As a general rule country people are keen appreciators of art and enjoy most forms of recreation where both art and recreation are given an interpretation consistent with their life-experiences and needs. One of the problems in both of these fields is to direct attention to art and recreation so that definite, unique and fitting patterns may evolve.

The work of the Art Extension Committee of Illinois in the field of outdoor art, of the University of Minnesota in music, and of the North Dakota Agricultural College and the University of North Carolina in drama and pageantry are examples of leadership that hold tremendous values for rural districts.

The stimulation of good forms of recreation in rural homes, schools, churches, and community organizations is an essential part of a program of developing the people through recreation. These institutions hold a key position in such matters, and oftentimes prejudice and ignorance have to be met and

¹⁹ *Yearbook*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1926, pp. 625-26, Recreation for the Farming Population, Washington, D. C.

allayed before any worthwhile developments can take place. The aid of such leadership as specially trained recreation teachers, good books and magazines, the national Playground and Recreation association, boys' and girls' club leaders, is paving the way for wholesome recreational projects for rural districts.

There is little question that recreation and the development of art in rural areas are gradually making headway. The time seems not far distant when they will have a most genuine reception along with the advancing economic organizations of the country.

CHAPTER XXI

RURAL POLICIES AND PRINCIPLES OF BALANCE

Introduction.—In a broad way this text itself might be considered an endeavor to develop rural policies for society at large, and to find a balance of human relations for and within rural life. In the various chapters contributions have been made piece by piece towards developing the wholeness of life on the farm, and towards farmers having and taking an important place in all social organization. This concluding chapter, however, gives us an opportunity to knit together many of the essential ideals relating to rural relationships. We should now be able to look across the broad fields of human endeavor, see the manifold arts, crafts, and professions of life, objectify our rural occupations, and formulate some definite policies concerning their true significance and relations in a universal scheme of social organization.

We might say, then, that what we should seek to do is to help bring about “such consensus of intelligent opinion and such a deliberate judgment about agriculture as shall represent the constructive purpose of the American people whether farmers, laborers, or business men, and whether operating in their private or their governmental capacities . . . such a common recognition of certain facts and principles to be established by investigation and conference as shall amount at any given time to a national policy about farms and farmers and farming as over against the policy which assumes a struggle of each separate interest to maintain its place in a constantly shifting balance of power in which all are frankly antagonistic

and each prospers or suffers in proportion to the force it is able to exert and the advantage it is able to secure."¹

Policies for any department of social life require much knowledge of society if the proper ideals are to be expressed and developed and the proper balances preserved. *Social telesis* takes the place of drifting, a quickened social consciousness supplants social apathy, and an informed public comes to prevail over a misinformed or uninformed people. We have seen in the preceding chapters that complex situations have been developing in rural society, as well as in society at large, that specialisms have become legion in number, and that it has become increasingly difficult for individuals to keep informed, through their own efforts, on trends and movements within their own departments of life, let alone those outside their immediate interests. All of this makes more insistent and important the need of policies, plans, and a system of balances. It calls for more and better leaders as well as a better informed public.

Policies for agriculture, as well as for any other calling or occupation, whether it be commerce, trade, manufacture, the professions, etc., will give to it encouragement, intelligent direction, and a setting among the others consistent with its true worth and importance in the social fabric. A real effort will be made to search out, understand, and enforce the proper interrelations which should exist between any one department and all of the others. President Butterfield says:

A true policy must have a certain completeness about it. It can be rather definitely expressed and understood. It must be widely and generally accepted; it directs efforts and governs activities. Government, farmers' associations and individuals will join in a common effort for one large end, intelligently, earnestly, co-operatively.²

¹ Davenport, Eugene, in *Proceedings of the First National Country Life Conference*, p. 176, American Country Life Association, New York, 1919.

² Butterfield, K. L., "The Farmer and the New Day," p. 85, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1919.

Why we need policies for agriculture.—Policies are thought-out schemes for social guidance and direction. They predicate and exemplify the *telic* processes of society as contrasted with the *laissez faire* attitudes. A policy concerning the conduct of any business, profession, state, or nation may be right or wrong according to the ultimate welfare bestowed. Whether right or wrong, however, it indicates a consciousness of relationships within the interest itself and between it and other interests. If wrong, the individuals or groups concerned are in a position to learn why and to correct the faults. A drifting attitude, on the other hand, is chaotic, more or less aimless, and devoid of scientific approach and understanding.

We need policies in rural life to enable society correctly and effectively to appraise it and its leaders, to aid in keeping it in harmonious and just relations with other departments of society, to set proper goals for it, and to bring to bear upon rural affairs all that is good and new that comes to light in any phase of society.

A study of the make-up of *Who's Who in America* shows how farmers and farming are minimized in selecting persons of merit and accomplishment in and through agriculture. For the continued well-being of our general social life the welfare of the rural interests will have to be held in higher regard and esteem. Too generally is agriculture taken for granted, and considered as a convenient source of cheap food and materials for commerce.

The history of agriculture in countries older than ours has shown that when the agricultural groups are neglected and exploited the whole core of society soon begins to feel undesirable effects, and that if inequalities persist so that agriculture declines, the nation in turn is almost sure to decline. It is fairly well conceded by historians that one of the contributing factors to the decline of Rome was the exploitative methods practiced on her agriculture. Since modern times England has given a large share of attention and respect to

her farmers. Her agriculture has been conducted by a stable and high-minded type of citizenry. Denmark, some 60 or 70 years ago, turned an intensive interest upon an agriculture that was carrying the nation into despondency, if not bankruptcy. Denmark learned to exalt the farmer, to give him the advantages of education, government, economic and social science, and leadership. As a consequence, Denmark stands today as one of the most thrifty and stable nations of the world.

A political leader's view of a rural policy.—President Theodore Roosevelt probably had more fully in mind the need of working out right relationships in and for rural life than most of our political leaders. In 1910 he stated as follows concerning the report of his *Commission on Country Life*:

The Commission was appointed because the time has come when it is vital to the welfare of the country seriously to consider the problems of farm life. So far the farmer has not received the attention that the city worker has received and has not been able to express himself as the city worker has done. The problems of farm life have received very little consideration and the result has been bad for those who dwell in the open country, and therefore bad for the whole nation. We were founded as a nation of farmers, and in spite of the great growth of our industrial life it still remains true that our whole system rests upon the farm, that the welfare of the whole community depends upon the welfare of the farmer. The strengthening of country life is the strengthening of the whole nation.

If country life is to become all that it should be, if the career of a farmer is to rank with any other career in the country as a dignified and desirable way of earning a living, the farmer must take advantage of all that agricultural knowledge has to offer, and also all that has raised the standard of living and intelligence in other callings. We who are interested in this movement desire to take counsel with the farmer, as his fellow citizens, so as to see whether the nation cannot aid in this matter; for the city dweller in the long run has only less concern than the country dweller in how the

country dweller fares. I am well aware that the working farmers themselves will in the last resort have to solve this problem for themselves; but as it also affects in only less degree all the rest of us, it is not merely our duty, but in our interest to see if we can render any help towards making the solution satisfactory.³

Again, just before President Roosevelt's death, we read of his last plea for a general awakening of the nation as a whole to the need of definite policy formation for agriculture. Richard Washburn Child says:

A few days before Roosevelt died, while he was still in a New York hospital, I went to see him. He discussed with me the great need of awakening the American people to a realization that something should be done to restore health to our basic industry—our agriculture.⁴

Throughout a large part of his public career Roosevelt exercised his influence towards securing for country life in America well-formulated policies and plans for its development and just appreciation. The American Country Life Association is an outgrowth of some of the ideals that Roosevelt set on foot while he was President of the United States. During the past ten years of its existence this association has been instrumental in producing much unity of thought and action in regard to rural life problems.

SOME POLICIES AND PLANS

An education policy.—A review of our national life as it relates to agriculture reveals on the one hand considerable groping and drifting, and on the other hand some honest endeavors to fashion plans for rural development.

One of the first and most significant policies to be estab-

³ Roosevelt, Theodore, "Report on Country Life Commission," pp. 9-10, Sturgis and Walton Company, New York, 1911.

⁴ Branson, E. C., "Farm Life Abroad" (fly leaf) University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1924.

lished on American soil was that of public-supported educational opportunities open to everyone. This policy has become an important part of our lives in making for socialization, uniformity in standards, and equality of opportunity. Too often, however, has it been taken for granted, and been expected to operate automatically without a constant attention which would keep it in step with developing changes in society. Upon the basis of this policy of free education little schoolhouses came to dot the land as pioneers settled upon the domain. This policy has led to the establishment of high school systems which vie with the best in the world; it has been productive of state universities, the like of which no country before us has witnessed. Furthermore, in carrying out the ideals of an education given at the hands of the public, great state agricultural colleges and experiment stations have been developed. The United States Department of Agriculture, with its secretary a member of the president's cabinet, further illustrates our policy of public education for the farmer in the interest of the whole of society. So also do our various state-supported departments and bureaus of education, agriculture, public health, etc. We have a precious possession in this now well-established policy; it behooves us to keep it fertile and balanced in its application; it lies basic to all our life interests. That we need to have much to do with its extension and administration has been revealed in former chapters.

Land policies.—Early in our national life we were confronted with the problem of defining what should be our plans toward disposing of and properly settling the vast areas of land west of the colonies. In handling this problem we find much less directness of aim exercised than was the case in dealing with the problem of universal education. That there was great agitation and deliberation over land settlement is amply shown through the debates both in and out of Congress during the greater part of our settlement days. Most

of the early leaders in political life recognized the value of having good settlers occupy the land, but they were sorely beset as to the best way to get them. Jefferson clung to a policy of liberality in land granting that would insure good settlers, and Hamilton placed the ideal of building up a depleted treasury as the first thing to be sought in relinquishing the lands of the West to settlers.

Many of our land policies were little more than make-shifts; compromises and temporary provisions prevailed. It has been said that "the amount of waste involved on account of inadequate land policies is almost beyond calculation. It is especially revealed in the poor choices men make of land. The history of the settlement of land in this country reveals at every step wasted fortunes and blighted lives."⁵

Out of a total of about 1,300,000,000 acres of public domain 137,000,000 acres have been given to railroads, wagon roads, and canals. Direct sales for cash and credit have taken 220,000,000 acres. Under homestead acts, timber culture, desert land and reclamation acts, 256,000,000 acres have been taken. For forests, national parks, and monuments 170,000,000 acres have been allotted, and for the purpose of encouraging schools, agricultural colleges, and free education 99,000,000 acres have been given to the various states. In addition to these large grants, many million acres are in Indian reservations, swamp land, military bounties, mineral and power reservations, timber, and stony land, and miscellaneous grants to states. The public domain today approximates 186,000,000 acres.

It is easier to look back over our history of land settlement and criticize it than it was to look forward during those early years and build a faultless policy. Whatever have been the mistakes of the past, the distressing thing today is that

⁵ Ely, R. T., Hess, R. H., et al., "The Foundation of National Prosperity," p. 29, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1917.

we are slow in profiting by them. Only a few States have set about to fashion good land policies. Farmers and settlers in new regions are left to the machinations of land promoters and schemers who care little about the ability of the individual to make a success in a particular location. It is the duty of the Government and of every State to safeguard the individual to the extent of informing him of the resources or lack of resources of various soils, climates, crops, and conditions within the State. The Government and the States need to have their lands carefully studied and classified as to their potential worth, and this information made easily available to all persons interested. Further than this, they should take an active part in directing settlement and the use of unsettled lands. A definite policy relative to settler assistance, size of holdings, necessary equipment, etc., will save both the settler and society from prospective loss through failure of adaptation of the settler to the conditions. As a means of retrieving some past mistakes along these lines, Dr. L. H. Bailey says, "We should bring the householders in from the lands that by nature are not adapted to husbandry in the present epoch."⁶ In addition to this, we should have more definite plans relative to a more profitable employment of many present worthwhile areas and belts of soil, such as timber lands, marsh soils, mineral lands and reservations.

Policies concerning communication and transportation.— Our treatment of canals and railroads has been almost as haphazard as our handling of land settlement problems. Canals had no more than fairly started their services to agriculture and industry when railroads commenced to build. Almost immediately canals and internal waterways were neglected, and railroads were favored and encouraged with a prodigality never before equaled. As a consequence, canals

⁶ Bailey, L. H., "The Harvest," p. 73, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927.

and other internal waterways have never had a real opportunity to prove their worth in relation to our transportation problems.

Railroads early grew into tremendous corporations through land-grants and numerous public and private aids. The Union Pacific railroad has received a total of almost 12,000,000 acres of land from the Government. The Northern Pacific railroad likewise has received almost 39,000,000 acres, besides grants from some of the states through which it built its lines. Professor Hibbard⁷ reports that a total of 129,000,000 acres of land had been given to railroads up to 1923 in order to encourage them to build and extend their services. In contrast to these large sums a little over 3,000,000 acres have been given over to wagon roads and 4,500,000 acres to canals.

In general, canals, rivers, and wagon roads are public property, and railroads are private property. It hardly seems a balanced policy to dwarf so fundamental an interest as canals and roads for a private interest of even the great reach of railroads. As a consequence, we have witnessed a lopsided development of our transportation schemes. Without the checks of competing transportation interests, such as roads and waterways might have provided, the railroads have worked themselves into strategic positions of influence and power. The Granger laws of the 70's and 80's were their first serious obstacles. These laws grew out of a harassed rural populace who felt the abuses of a relatively unchecked and favored private industry. Since the famous Granger legislation we have been kept busy in and out of Congress erecting checks to railroad power. We are now just commencing constructive plans for the development of internal waterways, and excellent road-building policies are spreading rapidly throughout the nation. A good public consciousness is de-

⁷ Hibbard, B. H., "A History of Public Land Policies," p. 267, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1924.

veloping relative to the social importance of these means of communication and transportation.

Taxation policies.—We have been addicted in America to a general scheme of property taxation as a means of raising state and local revenue. Yet, through all our history this sort of tax has never been equitably adjusted to the chief type of property owned and operated by the farmer—namely, land. Investigations have borne out the fact time and again that agricultural land bears a heavier proportionate share of tax under the general property tax schemes than do most other forms of property.

Furthermore,

The failure to tax intangibles has increased the tax burdens on farms and other tangible property which cannot escape the assessor. Economic change has also created a growing class of people whose principal income is not based on property of any kind, but is derived from personal services. No direct taxes for state and local purposes are levied on incomes from personal services except in the few states that have income tax.

Those whose property escapes taxation and whose incomes bear no direct taxes, nevertheless enjoy the benefit of government, including schools, roads and other specific service improvements. The increased burden of taxes on farm property indicates the desirability of other methods of providing revenue for rural communities.⁸

Whitney Coombs makes the following statement:

In some sections of the country an almost intolerable burden rests on the farmer. Figures recently compiled for a number of rented farms in several Michigan counties show that for the last seven years taxes have taken about 90 per cent of what otherwise would have been the net return to the owners of these farms. It is believed that this is an exceptionally bad condition, but other studies in various sections indicate that in recent years a tax burden which

⁸ Cooper, Thomas, et al., "A National Policy for Agriculture," *The Breeder's Gazette*, December, 1927, p. 28, Chicago, Illinois.

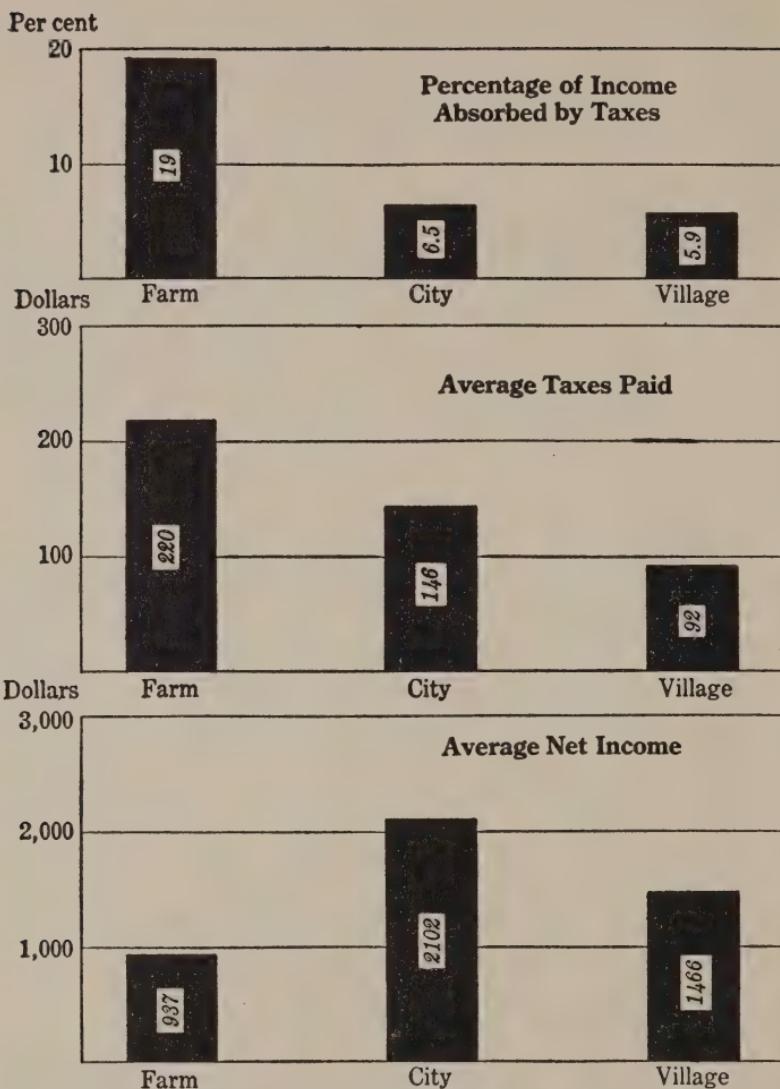


FIG. 25.—Farmers Carry The Heaviest Tax Load. Comparative Values for Income and Taxes for Farm, City, and Village, Dane County, Wisconsin.⁹

"Economic research has shown that Dane County Farmers who make income tax reports pay more taxes both relatively and absolutely than do the city and village people who made income tax reports in this county.¹⁰

⁹ "Gleanings From Science," p. 22, *Bulletin 368. Annual Report of the Director, Agricultural Experiment Station, Madison, Wisconsin*, December, 1926.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

takes from one-third to two-thirds of the return is by no means unusual.¹¹

Some desirable equalization plans relative to revenue distribution have been developing in certain sections. Some cities, counties, and states have provided ways of spreading revenue from favorably located areas over unfavorably located areas so as to assist the latter to build and maintain schools, roads, and other public improvements. This is a highly desirable plan and we shall, no doubt, see it generally extended. Income taxes, sales taxes, and gasoline taxes are helpful, and enable us to approximate a theory in taxation, which, if generally applied, would solve many of our taxation problems —namely, *taxes based upon the ability to pay*. If the general property tax on farm land were levied more in accordance with this theory, there would be less complaint and a better balance found in the realm of taxation.

Tariff policies.—Whatever may be said of the tariff and of agricultural aid at the present time, it seems quite clear that our tariff policies in the past have been favorable to industry, with small consideration given to agriculture. We are undoubtedly rapidly approaching conditions which will demand greater care in protecting the home market for our own agricultural producers. As our population increases, more and more will our farmers' market become a home market. The tariff schedules must see to it that cheaply produced agricultural products from foreign countries do not compete in this market on a base that places the American farmer in jeopardy. Jardine, Secretary of Agriculture in the Coolidge cabinet, says:

What we should seek in dealing with the tariff on agricultural products is, as I have pointed out, to insure the home market, so far as possible, to the American farmer. He should have effective protection against foreign competition. As I have previously

¹¹ Coombs, Whitney, in *Yearbook*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, p. 698, Washington, D. C., 1926.

pointed out, labor today has, by means of the immigration laws, effective protection in this country.¹²

Agriculture, by its very nature of scattered producing units, is unfavorably constituted for the purpose of rapidly and uniformly mobilizing forces for or against legislative measures. Due to this fact and to the strategic importance of agriculture to our national life, it has been proposed by some students of the question that we adopt a policy of treating agriculture as a most-favored industry. There are, no doubt, many important features to be considered in such a policy; it will have greater recognition as people become better informed concerning the ultimate values it would bestow.

FURTHER POLICY SUGGESTIONS

Rural community policies.—We are scarcely in a position to develop large-unit policies before we have worked out proper small-unit plans. The rural community, therefore, should be the starting point. Here we find the rootings of many of the state and national problems of farmers. Within the community, and between communities within the county, honest efforts need to be set forth to integrate farmers and townsmen in local affairs of government, business, and social development. The policies of local rural units concerning the significance of rural life, and the participation of it in the affairs of general social development will be reflected in the larger units of society. Therefore we can see the great importance of better schools, roads, churches, town-country relations, and other self-developmental agencies. As the farmer attains greater control over his immediate social and physical environment, so will he be able to extend his control and influence into larger spheres.

In this policy, rural organization will play a large part. The day of the individualist farmer has passed. Farmers must co-oper-

¹² U. S. Department of Agriculture Yearbook, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

ate as never before; co-operation takes its highest form through organization. Effective organization must include persons of common interests, common aims, and definiteness of purpose. Conscientious, searching, painstaking effort must be made to locate the areas of natural, comprehensive rural communities, and apply the tenets of a policy upon such a basis.¹³

In Roosevelt's Country Life Commission Report we read as follows:

The ultimate need of the open country is the development of community effort and of social resources. . . . There is a general lack of wholesome societies that are organized on a social basis. There is need of the greatest diversity in country life affairs, but there is equal need of a social cohesion operating among all these affairs and tying them all together.¹⁴

Local rural policies will endeavor to have preserved all the finer idealisms of rural life, to build up typical rural cultures, and to develop high standards of life. Soil conservation, the conservation of other natural resources, and permanent agriculture on the material side are of equal importance to the development and conservation of the human resources. In far too many rural communities today do we witness attitudes of lassitude, drifting, and self-abnegation, if not feelings of inferiority, stagnating human and material development. In too many instances the dross of farm life is overdrawn, exploitative types of cultivation practiced, and an air of criticism, pessimism, and general discontent prevailing. Naturally, under such local conditions, people are in no position to demand respect from others. The impulse and initiative to better ideals begin at home and spread outward in concentric circles so as to embrace larger and larger areas. In many rural communities we need a policy of returning to nature for the true inspiration and worth of farm life. Farm-

¹³ Hayes, Augustus W., "Rural Community Organization," pp. 5-6, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1921.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

ing is more than making money. Where farming has been rightly chosen, "there is an attachment between the man and the land and this is worth more for the good of both farming and society than any extent of commercial theory or political action. This safeguard lies in the realm of the emotions, as deeply set as the convictions of religion."¹⁵

Every rural community needs definite policies relating to both social and economic welfare. The control of insect pests, fungus diseases, hog cholera, and similar problems, as well as concerted action concerning the establishment of good types of live-stock, grains, and grasses, might well be governed by general plans and policies looking towards the greatest welfare of the community. Educational policies concerning formal and informal education, policies relating to religion, recreation, health, government, and social service have all been more or less emphasized in former chapters.

The following quotation is illustrative of a growing recognition on the part of an agricultural county of the need of definite knowledge and plans for its development:

The people of Fergus County, Montana, decided that a \$33,000,000 business was worth some study with a view to increasing its returns. So they took an inventory of their agriculture last year. Studies of each important farm commodity were made by experienced committees, the twenty-one community clubs of the county joining in and making it their major project.

They set out to learn what crops, varieties, and farming practices were most profitable and best adapted. And at the same time they gathered ideas as to the improvements and conveniences needed to make farm life more satisfying. After several months of such inquiry it was possible to hold a county conference and draw up an intelligent program for the agricultural development of the county.¹⁶

Similar activities in all rural counties in which all interests unite to take stock of rural assets and liabilities, and to

¹⁵ Bailey, L. H., *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁶ Editorial, *The Country Gentleman*, p. 22, January, 1928, The Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

work out productive plans and policies would go a long way towards establishing rural life on a higher and more effective plane. In framing and in shaping policies we see the ever-present need of proper objectives and aims. The agencies of the organized community become the functionaires in helping frame and carry out community and local policies; developing community organization in rural districts is, therefore, a first step towards policy formation. "The successful farm life is a complex of balances. There must be the proper ratio or equivalence between the money income, the intellectual satisfactions, and the expression of the soul. . . ." ¹⁷

State rural policies.—The necessity of state policies for agriculture is no doubt quite obvious. States differ considerably as to resources, crops, soils, and people. The importance of agriculture also varies between states. We have mentioned the need of state land settlement policies in order that land unfit for economic use may be held out of settlement, and in order that the right individual and right tract of land may be brought together at the proper time.

Each state needs a policy as to the development of its highway systems and other transportation and communication routes in order to reach properly all sections of the state with a well-balanced system.

The need of fairer schemes of taxation has also been mentioned above. The larger share of taxes paid by agricultural interests is used in the support of local institutions and improvements, such as schools, roads, and local government. "Since better schools and roads are so important to the public at large, justice in taxation requires that a part of the burden of taxation now borne by farm property be transferred to other sources of income in the community, and that a larger share of the total revenue be obtained from taxes levied on larger territorial units."¹⁸ Taxation schemes

¹⁷ Bailey, L. H., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁸ Cooper, T., et al., *op. cit.*

that take cognizance of the ability to pay, as suggested in a former paragraph, are needed on all types of property, and especially on farm property. Taxation of certain intangibles which are now escaping tax assessments would help in making effective a property tax levied in accordance with the ability to sustain the tax.

State policies of aiding rural schools are now developing in many states; this is most desirable and is helping in no small way in equalizing educational opportunities. These policies need extension and careful direction. Following them up with well-trained rural teachers and good rural school supervision is also essential to the complete working of a system of educational balances between urban and rural districts.

We might say in short that every state has certain unique problems of its own which need to be discovered, clearly defined, and attacked in a constructive manner. Every state should first of all determine the true significance of its rural interests in the life and future development of the state. The material and human contributions of the farms of the State to the urban, political, social, and economic life of the State need to be set forth with as complete clarity as possible; and upon these facts, policies and systems of balances erected that will insure a normal, uniform, and justly proportioned development of the rural interests and country life.

A national rural policy.—Much has already been stated concerning national rural policies. We are today experiencing an awakened consciousness along these lines, but we find a great deal of heterogeneity as to facts, ideals, and leadership upon which to build such policies. A national rural policy, as we conceive it here, must take into consideration the wholeness of rural civilization. Farm relief advocates have been prone to overemphasize economic problems at the expense of certain other phases of rural life. A policy drafted by them would be almost wholly economic. Many if not most of the national economic problems of farmers today are due

to a lack of this larger thing which we term a *rural policy*. As we learned in the chapter on "Rural Standards of Life," there is a complex of factors operating in which the economic, while fundamental, share importance with the educational, political, social, and religious factors. As Dr. Gus Dyer says: "The farm problem, then, is the problem of restoring, directing and protecting the industrial life, the social life, the educational life, the political life, the religious life of the country. It is the problem of restoring rural civilization in this country as a mighty factor in shaping the destiny of the nation. It is not a farm problem, it is a national problem. It is as vital to the cities as it is to the country. It is as important to the commercial and banking and industrial interests as it is to the agricultural interests."¹⁹

We have space for only a brief treatment of some of the points to be covered in a national rural policy. Recapitulating some of the suggestions of former chapters, we find great disparities of policy and much social disregard of inequalities operating upon rural life in the following factors: insufficient educational advantages; a medley of church problems; unsatisfactory farm tenancy systems and farm labor supplies; poor housing, health, sanitation, and nursing facilities; little planning for systematic recreation; uncontrolled and unregulated production; inadequate income in relation to investments and responsibilities; almost total inability of the farmer to participate in the determination of selling prices of his products; certain inequitable features in banking and credit facilities, which fail to recognize the time element in agricultural production; unfair transportation rates, and tariff schedules which have almost forgotten the farmer; no constructive land settlement policies. In addition to these might be mentioned a general public attitude of looking upon the farm as a business to furnish cheap food and

¹⁹ Editorial, *The Southern Agriculturist*, p. 6, February 15, 1928, Nashville, Tennessee.

other supplies to industry and city life. Or, in the words of Dyer, "The country has been regarded more and more as a servant of the city—often as a menial servant. Its function is to prepare food for city people."²⁰ Surely we see enough in these factors to challenge all our ingenuity.

The details of policy formation and application will require the best thought and leadership in society. Fact-finding is a first essential. The agricultural colleges, United States Department of Agriculture, experiment stations, research bureaus, county agricultural agents, and numerous other workers and institutions are aiding in getting together facts dealing with rural problems. Conferences, deliberations, and discussions are needed, based upon the facts. In these, representative groups of thinkers and leaders from all departments of our national life should be called upon to participate and give assistance. For the purpose of crystallizing or nucleating the results of deliberations and discussions and for the further purpose of giving effective machinery and leadership, some central and permanent group should be formed which could be looked to as a directing head embodying the principles formulated out of the mass of facts and ideals.

Dean Davenport has made the suggestion that a permanent Agricultural Commission be formed not of officials but of representative citizens serving without compensation except for their expenses. He says:

. . . the personnel of the Commission to be representative not only of farming as a business and of agriculture as a national enterprise but, also, of other interests, particularly labor and capitalized industry; a body resembling in purpose the Roosevelt Country Life Commission and in function the National Advisory Committee appointed jointly by the Department of Agriculture and the Food Administration; a body competent to consider from time to time the agricultural situation and needs, charged with the duty not of drafting bills looking to specific legislation but of preparing and

²⁰ *Op. cit.*

publishing findings that shall be regarded as advisory to the legislative and to the administrative branches of our Government and that also may be helpful in creating healthy public opinion and influential in establishing and maintaining sound national policies in agriculture.²¹

SUMMARY

Farming is our biggest single enterprise in America; it is absolutely essential to American life and prosperity; its contributions in human and material resources are incalculable. Farming has several handicaps which most other occupations do not have, chief among these being the tremendous diversity of its social and economic interests, its small units of production, and the widely scattered condition of these units. It is difficult to objectify farming in America, and it is equally difficult to perfect universal rural organization. These facts need to be faced in all fairness to the rural residents. Haranguing at them to meet situations beyond their power and control accomplishes no good; in fact, it tends to embitter and disconcert those individuals who are trying to find a way out of the difficult situations of rural life.

We cannot place all of the burden of rural reconstruction upon the farmer; he is not in a position to assume it however willing he may be to do so; and it is manifestly unstatesmanlike to receive of his contributions and give little in return to help him overcome his handicaps and meet his problems. Furthermore, it is dangerous to our entire national life to leave so vital an element of it in a condition that saps the interest, dwarfs the ambitions, or decimates the numbers of many of its better devotees.

Students of rural society have an important part to play in helping to bring about "such a consensus of intelligent

²¹ Davenport, E., *Proceedings, First National Country Life Conference, op. cit.*, p. 200.

opinion and such deliberate judgment about agriculture as shall represent the constructive purpose of the American people whether farmers, laborers, or business men, and whether operating in their private or their governmental capacities."

APPENDIX¹

CHAPTER I

MEANING, SCOPE, AND METHODS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Give Several Reasons for the Appropriateness of the Term Rural Sociology.
2. What Are Some of the Important Functions of Rural Sociology?
3. In What Ways Has Rural Sociology Met Handicaps and Advantages in Its Development?
4. In What Ways Does Rural Sociology Gain from the Methods and Studies of Other Social Sciences?
5. Why Have Social Studies Been Slower to Develop and to Be Accepted By Rural Communities than Economic Studies?
6. What In General Typifies the Methods of Rural Sociology?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The Development of Rural Sociology in Your Own State.
2. A Study of Definitions of Rural Sociology.
3. A Comparison of Rural Sociology Texts As to Contents and Methods of Approach.
4. Fields of Rural Social Research Needing Development in Your State or County.

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¹ Reference titles given in footnotes in the chapters are not repeated under the same chapter in the appendix.

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CHAPTER II

SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Should One Gain from a Study of the Early History of People in Their Endeavors to Establish Agriculture?
2. Why Is It Not Possible to Give a Definite Time and Place for the Beginnings of Agriculture?
3. Show the Social Significances of the Settling-Down Processes to Man and to Society.
4. What Was the Form and What Were the Functions of the Early Patriarchal Family?
5. Show the Importance of Early Villages, Towns, and Cities to Rural Life.
6. Characterize Roman Rural Life.
7. Characterize the Conditions of Farmers During Feudalistic Periods.
8. Show How the Manor Developed.
9. What Were the Advantages and the Disadvantages of Manorial Development?
10. What Caused the Breakdown of the Manor?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The Relations Between Early Urban and Rural Life.
2. Attitudes and Responses of the Cultivators Towards Their Conditions of Life During Feudal and Manorial Periods.
3. The Social and Economic Contributions of Manorial Agriculture.
4. The Rise and Development of Rural Cultures.

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CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE RURAL LIFE IN AMERICA

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What General Values Do We Get from a Study of Colonial Rural Life in America?
2. Bring Out the Characteristics of the Rural Life Conditions of Each of the Three Colonial Divisions—New England, Southern, Middle.

3. What Distinctive Markings Did Each of These Colonial Divisions Give to American Farm Life?
4. What Were the Evidences of European Backgrounds That Were Brought Out in Colonial Agriculture?
5. How Do You Account for the Scattered Residences of American Farmers? What Effect Have They Had on Rural Social Life?
6. What Nationality Groups Have Contributed Most to American Rural Life?
7. Contrast the Rural Conditions in the Appalachian Highlands With Those in the Central-West. Contrast Those of the South with Those of the Plains and Intermountain Regions.
8. In What Ways Does Irrigation Farming Differ from Ranch Farming?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The Development of Types of American Farm Homes.
2. The Causes for the Decline of the Southern Plantation.
3. Origins of the Streams of Settlers in Your Own State.
4. Comparative Rural Life Conditions in Your Own State.
5. The Development of the Self-Sufficient Farm.
6. Causes for the Break Between Town and Country.

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CHAPTER IV

THE RURAL POPULATION

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show How Rural Social Problems Are Vitally Affected By the Quality Factor of the Rural Population.
2. How Will More Definite Census Data of Actual Farmers Furnish Us With Better Facts for Rural Sociology Studies?

3. In What States Do We Find the Greatest Density of the Rural Population? Why?
4. Where Do We Find Most of the Scandinavians in America in Rural Life? Why? The Orientals? Why?
5. Why Have Not More of the Southeastern European Groups Gone to Our Southern States? Are They Likely to Do So in the Future?
6. Contrast Urban and Rural Populations As to Age Distribution, Marital Relations, Size of Families, Literacy, and Independence of Women.
7. What Place Does the Village Occupy Between the City and the Country As a Population Center?
8. Show the Social Significance of the Homestead, and Overlapping of Generations in Rural Districts.
9. How Has the Country Been Able to Lose Population to the Cities and Still Increase Agricultural Production?
10. Why Do People Leave the Farms for the City? Why Do People Leave the City for Farms?
11. What Are Troublesome Problems as to the Migrations Between Rural Districts?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Ways of Retaining in Rural Life Sufficient Numbers of the Better Elements of the Population.
2. How to Stabilize the Population Shifts Among Tenants.
3. Account for the Changes in the Rural Population in Your Own County Within the Last Twenty-five Years.

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CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC FACTORS

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In a Number of Ways Show the Relationships Between Economic and Social Factors in Rural Life Developments.
2. Should the Farmer Be Expected to Show Greater Interest Than Society in Soil Conservation? If Not, Why?
3. What Are Determining Factors As to Size of Farms? As to Economic Rewards in Agriculture?
4. Why Is Tenancy Considered a Social Problem?
5. What Do the Shifts in Rates of Tenancy in Different Parts of the Country Indicate?
6. What Value Has the Agricultural Ladder?
7. Is It Not Reasonable to Preserve All the Rungs in the Agricultural Ladder?
8. Contrast the Evils of Tenancy With Its Values and Show How Tenancy Conditions May Be Improved.
9. How May Satisfactory Conditions Be Developed for Farm Laborers?
10. How Is the Farm at a Disadvantage in the Labor Market?
11. Is It Not Wise to Plan for a Certain Permanent Hired Labor Force for Agriculture?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Make a Study of the Relations Between Poor Soils and Rural Institutional Life.
2. Develop the Social Significances of Various Farm Work Groups.
3. Work Out a Desirable Place for Tenancy in an Ideal System of Land Holding.
4. Organization of Seasonal Labor Demands.
5. The Character and Problems of Seasonal Farm Labor.

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CHAPTER VI

RURAL STANDARDS OF LIFE

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Do We Mean By Standards of Life?
2. How Do We Determine Rural Standards of Life?
3. How Are Rural Standards of Life Measured?
4. To What Extent Do Economic Factors Help Measure Rural Standards of Life?
5. What Effect Do Size of Family and Educational Status of Parents Have Upon the Standards of Farm Families?
6. Can We Say Low Standard Farmers Drive Out High Standard Farmers?
7. What Influences Do Standards of Life Seem to Have on Town and Country Relationships?
8. How Would You Seek to Raise the Standards of Life of Rural People?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The Social Significances of Different Standards of Life Among Farmers.
2. The Effects of Children in the Home on Rural Standards of Life.
3. Ways of Evaluating the Immaterial Elements in a Standard of Life.
4. The Effects of Custom and Family Practice Upon Rural Standards of Life.
5. How Economic Factors Relate Themselves to Rural Standards of Life.

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CHAPTER VII

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Are the Outstanding Factors in the Rural Environment Which Help to Give Psychological Effects?
2. Are Farmers More Prone to Habitual Responses than Other People?
3. What Is Characteristic of the Farmer's Consciousness?
4. Characterize the Thought Processes of the Farmer.
5. Why Have Superstition and Extreme Conservatism Lingered in Some Rural Areas?
6. What Factors Have Retarded the Development of Group Psychology Among Farmers?
7. What Are the Evidences Indicative of Different Types of Rural Psychology?
8. What Social Values Grow Out of a Knowledge of Rural Psychological Types?

9. In What Ways Is the Psychology of Farmers Changing? What Are the Main Factors Causing the Change?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The Force of Habit and Custom in Rural Districts.
2. The Various Ways Science, the Radio, the Automobile, and Commercialization of Agriculture Are Bringing a New Psychological Response from Farmers.
3. Types of Rural Psychology.
4. The Values of a Study of Rural Social Psychology.

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CHAPTER VIII

RURAL SOCIALIZATION

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Are the Aims, Meaning, and Importance of the Socialization Process in Rural Life?
2. Make a Comparison Between Primary Groups and Secondary Groups in Their Importance to Rural Life.
3. Show How Socialization Is a Continuous Process in the Life and Experiences of an Individual.
4. What Effects Do Such Physical Features As Streams, Timber, Prairie, etc., Have Upon Socialization in Country Districts?
5. Show the Socializing Values Growing Out of the Uses of the Radio, the Telephone, the Automobile, Improved Highways.
6. Discuss and Criticize Hawthorn's Method of Measuring Socialization.
7. List Various Hindrances to Socialization and Show How They May Be Lessened or Overcome.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The Comparative Importance of Different Forms of Group and Individual Activity in Developing Socialized Habits and Responses in Individuals.

2. A Contrast of Two Different Geographical Situations from the Point of View of Their Socializing Influences.

3. A Study of the Changes Brought Into a Given Rural Community Through the Uses of the Radio, Good Roads, the Automobile, and Other Modern Developments.

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CHAPTER IX

RURAL LEADERSHIP

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Is the Meaning of Leadership?
2. Develop the Differences Between Leaders and "Headers."
3. Can Leadership Qualities Be Developed?
4. What Are Some of the Important Problems Rural Leaders Have to Meet?
5. How Are Methods of Recognizing and Rewarding Leaders Socially Desirable?
6. Discuss the Significances of the Master Farmer Movement.
7. Criticize *Who's Who in America* Methods of Judging Leadership, Especially as They Relate to Rural Leaders.
8. Can You Say the Country is Not Productive of As Much Leadership As Formerly?
9. Evaluate Methods of Training for Leadership.
10. How Is Rural Life to Be Conserved By Leaders?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Methods of Awakening a Deeper Sense Among Farmers As to the Services of Well-Trained Rural Leaders.
2. Ways of Measuring, Evaluating and Rewarding the Services of Rural Leaders.

3. Show How Social and Economic Changes in Rural Life Bring Out Leaders.

4. How Has Conflict Stimulated Rural Leaders?

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CHAPTER X

RURAL ORGANIZATIONS

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Social Significances Are Reflected by Organization Work Among Farmers?
2. Characterize the Early Organizations Among English and American Colonial Farmers.
3. What Values Grew Out of Specialized Rural Societies?
4. Show How the Grange Became a Great Power in Rural Life.
5. How Do You Account for the Rapid Development of Farmers' Organization Following the Civil War?
6. What Gave Rise to the Co-operative Movement? Why Was It So Slow in Gaining a Foothold in America?
7. Account for the Recent Rapid Spread of Co-operative Organizations Among Farmers.
8. What Is the Farm-Bureau, Its Function, and Importance?
9. Classify Rural Organizations in a Number of Ways.

10. What Are Some Things Needful for More Effective Organization Effort Among Farmers?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The Importance of Fairs to Rural Life.
2. Social Values of Commodity Co-operative Associations.
3. The Development, Spread and Values of Farm Women's Organizations.
4. The Growth of Specialized Farm Groups.
5. Farmer Political Organizations.

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CHAPTER XI

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL FACTORS

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show the Intimate Relations Between Political and Social Life.
2. In What Ways Does the New England Town Show Desirable Features As a Form of Rural Local Government?

3. What Are the Faults of the Mid-Western Township As a Political and Social Entity?
4. What Can Be Said for and against Prevailing County Systems of Local Government?
5. How Can the County System of Local Government Be Made More Responsive to Social Demands?
6. Why Do We Not Have a Farmers' Political Party in the United States?
7. In What Important Ways Are Farmers Increasing Their Political Influence? How Can This Influence Be Extended and Made More Effective?
8. How Are Governments Aiding Farmers and Rural Life?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Plans for Redistricting the Countryside in Order to Obtain More Effective Units for Rural Local Government.
2. The Results of Farmers' Political Movements.
3. Ways and Means of Stimulating Farmer Interest in State and National Politics.
4. The Extent to which Governments Can Help Solve Farmers' Economic and Social Problems.

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CHAPTER XII

TOWN AND COUNTRY RELATIONSHIPS

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How Do You Explain That Significant Misunderstandings Have Arisen Between Town and Country People?
2. What Have Been the Chief Causes of Friction Between Farmer and Townsman?
3. Show the Importance of the Town As a Center of Interests and Services for the Farmer?
4. How Will Joint Institutional Development Bring Farmer and Townsman Into Better Relations With Each Other?

5. To What Extent Should Farmers Invest in and Help Control Town Businesses?

6. What Values Will Grow Out of Better Planned Towns and Better Town Development?

7. What Initiative May Towns and Cities Take Towards Developing Good Relations With the Countryside.

8. What Is the Significance of the Town's Trade Area from the Point of View of a Town-Country Community?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Review Several Examples of Good Town and Country Relationships.

2. Show How Different Standards of Life May Cause Misunderstanding Between Town and Country People?

3. Devise a Plan for Zoning the Countryside About a Town.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE RURAL COMMUNITY AND ITS ORGANIZATION

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How Would You Rank the Organized Rural Community Among the Other Institutions of Farmers?
2. What Is the Difference Between a Community and a Neighborhood?
3. Discuss the Significance of the Following Factors in Community-Building: Area, Density and Volume of Population, Volume of Wealth.
4. Describe Several Valuable Functioning Geographical Units for Rural Community Development.
5. What Are the Best Ways to Approach and Organize a Rural Community?
6. What Functions Should Community Organization Seek to Perform?
7. What Are Several Outstanding Types of Rural Communities?
8. What Principles Should be Observed in Rural Community Organization?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The Different Aspects Rural Communities Assume Under Different Environmental Conditions.

2. The Effects of Modern Methods of Communication on Enlarging the Scope and Area of Rural Communities.
3. Forms of Organization for Communities Possessing Varying Degrees of Organized Life.
4. The Services Agricultural Agents and Other Community Workers Render Towards Establishing Community Units and Community Organization.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE RURAL FAMILY AND HOME

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Discuss the General Importance of the Family As a Socio-Biological Institution.
2. What Important Precedents of Early Historical Family Life Still Show Strong Influence in the Rural Family?
3. In What Ways Is the Rural Family a Greater Social and Economic Unit Than the Urban Family?
4. What Can Be Said Concerning Rural Family Types?
5. What Are the Important Labor Problems of Farm Women and Children?
6. What Are the Chief Advantages the Farm Family Possesses As Contrasted With Urban Families? What are the Chief Disadvantages?
7. How Is the Farm Woman's Lot Growing Better?

8. What Evidences Have We of the Improvement of Farm House Plans and Arrangements?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Types and Patterns of Rural Families.
2. Examples of Well-Ordered Rural Family Life.
3. Types of Farm Houses.
4. The Importance of the Farm House in the Business and Social Life of the Farm.
5. The Influence of Young People's Organizations.
6. The Influence of Women's Organizations.

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CHAPTER XV

RURAL EDUCATION (RURAL SCHOOLS)

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show the Social Importance of Education in a Democratic Society.
2. Sum up the Strengths and Weaknesses of the One-Room Rural School.
3. Point Out the Present Usefulness of the One-Room Rural School.
4. What Are the Social Significances of the Consolidated Rural School?
5. How Preserve the Social Values of the Consolidated Rural School District?
6. What Can Be Said for and Against Secondary Schools of Agriculture?
7. What Are the Values of Agricultural Subjects in the High School?
8. What Dangers May Grow Out of Too Great a Development of Agricultural and Home Economics Courses in Rural High Schools?
9. Show the Social Influences of the Agricultural College upon Farm Life.
10. What Are the Employments of Agricultural College Graduates?

11. What Are Some of the Important Acts of Congress Which Show National Interest in Agricultural Education?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. A One-Room School that has Found a Unique Field of Service.
2. The Present Occupations of Graduates of Your Own State College of Agriculture.
3. The Extent Agricultural Courses in High School Assist in Directing Pupils Towards Farm Life.
4. The Community Activities of a Comprehensive Consolidated Rural School.

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CHAPTER XVI

RURAL EDUCATION (EXTENSION AND ADULT)

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In What Ways Do You Consider the Extra-Curricular Activities of Rural Schools Important Aids to School Training?
2. What Forms of Extra-Curricular Activity May Be Undertaken At the Rural School? Away From the School?
3. Describe the 4-H Club Work, Its Growth and Development in the United States.
4. What Have Been the Growth and Development of the Agricultural Extension Activities of Colleges and Universities?
5. Describe the County Agricultural Agent Work and Its Social Significances.
6. What Are the Services of the County Home Demonstration Agent?
7. How Does the Folk School Idea Seem to Fill a Need in American Rural Life Conditions?

8. What Has Caused the Rapid Spread of City Daily Papers in Rural Districts?
9. What Are the Functions of the Country Weekly Newspaper?
10. In What Ways Are Agricultural Journals Filling An Important Place in Rural Education?
11. What Are the Advantages of the County Library Over Other Library Systems for Rural Districts?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The Importance of the Training Service of Out-of-School Educational Work.
2. Illustrations of the Work of Folk Types of Schools in American Rural Life.
3. The Changes in Attitudes and Practices Brought to Rural Districts by Demonstration Agents.
4. Ways in Which the Country Weekly may Increase Its Usefulness to the Farmer.
5. How the Consolidated School may Function as a Convenient Library Center.
6. How to Enlarge and Extend the Services of the Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin.

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CHAPTER XVII

RURAL RELIGION

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Contrast Early Church Attitudes With Those of Today.
2. What Factors Have Been Basic to the Decline of the Rural Church?
3. What Are the Evidences of the Decline of the Rural Church?
4. List and Characterize the Present Disorders of the Rural Church.

5. What Disorders Would You Rank of Greatest Importance?
6. What Are the Principal Needs of the Rural Church if It Is to Render Effective Service?
7. How Is Excessive Sectarianism Being Met?
8. What Change Is Developing As to the Training of Rural Ministers?
9. What Seem to Be the Most Effective Fields of Service of Christian Associations?
10. Do You Believe the Open Country Church is Doomed to Pass Away in Favor of the Town and Village Church?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The Growth, Development, and Services of the Churches of the Pioneers.
2. Causes for the Changes in Attitudes Towards the Rural Church.
3. The Sociological Values of Modern Religious Organizations.
4. Plans for Redistricting Rural Church Denominations.
5. The Social Leadership of the Rural Minister.

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CHAPTER XVIII

RURAL SOCIAL PATHOLOGY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show How Problems of Unadjustment Have Been Relatively Neglected in Rural Districts.
2. What Can Be Said Concerning the Number of Poverty-stricken Persons in the Rural Districts?
3. Discuss the Conditions of Housing, Sanitation, Food, and Clothing Among the Poverty Groups.
4. What Can Be Said of the Facilities for Outdoor and Indoor Relief of Poverty in Rural Districts?
5. To What Extent Are the Deaf, Blind, and Crippled Social Problems of the Country?
6. How Do You Account for There Being More Insane in Cities and More Feeble-minded in the Country?
7. What Is Being Done to Care for the Rural Insane and Feeble-minded?
8. What Is the Prevalence of Crime in Rural Districts, and How Are the Problems of Crime Being Handled?
9. What Is Meant By Rural Social Service?
10. What Values Will Social Service Work Give Rural Districts?
11. Does There Seem to be a Demand for Full-Time County Social Workers?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Make a Study of Poverty in Some Rural County.
2. Study Different State Plans for the Care of Dependents in Rural Districts.

3. The Comparative Values of Placing Out and of Institutionalization of the Types of the Feebleminded.
4. The Value of the Poorfarm to Rural Districts.
5. The Need of Crippled Children's Clinics in Rural Counties.
6. Methods of Prevention of Rural Crime.

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CHAPTER XIX

RURAL HEALTH AND PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Account for the Attitude Often Found in Rural Districts that Little Attention Needs to Be Given Rural Health Factors.
2. What Are the Sociological Significances of Health?
3. In What Ways Has the City Been Gaining on the Country in Health Preservation?
4. Contrast Rural Health Advantages With the Disadvantages.
5. What Has the United States Public Health Survey of 15 Counties Revealed Concerning Overcrowding in Rural Homes?
6. What Values Has the Demonstration Method in Developing Better Health Practices?
7. How Will Medical and Psychological Examinations of School Children Help Develop Better Health Practices?
8. Why Is the Rural Hospital Coming to Be a Necessity for Rural Districts?
9. How Do County Public Health Services Operate?
10. What Are the Costs and Values of County Public Health Departments?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The Effects of Home Remedies and Local Customs on the Health Practices of Rural People.
2. Observations on Rural Diets.
3. A Survey of Housing and Living Conditions In a Rural District or County.
4. The Need of Physicians Specially Qualified for Rural Practice.
5. Services of Health Centers, and Clinics to Rural Counties.
6. Values of Periodic Medical Examination of All Rural School Children.

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CHAPTER XX

RURAL ART AND RECREATION

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. To What Extent Is Art Appreciation a Measure of a Social Personality?
2. How May Art Be Used in the School System to Stimulate Educational Achievement?
3. Show That the Country Possesses Many Undeveloped Art Opportunities.
4. How Do Your Experiences With the View of Rural People on Art Agree With Professor Groves'?

5. Suggest Ways of Increasing the Services of the Musical Arts in Rural Districts.
6. What Uses Can Be Made of Drama and Pageantry in Developing Local Rural Talent and in Stimulating Community Organization?
7. What Institutions and Organizations Are Helping Spread the Knowledge and Services of Drama and Pageantry?
8. What Is Needed in the Way of Play in Rural Districts?
9. How Would You Break Down Rural Prejudices Towards Play and Recreation?
10. What Services May the School, Home, and Church Render Towards Better Rural Recreational Plans?
11. How Does Community Organization Assist in Developing Rural Recreation?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Plans for Creating a Greater Interest In and Use of Outdoor Art In Rural Districts.
2. Development of Types of Recreation for Rural People Under Different Environmental Conditions.
3. The Program of a Full-Time Recreation Leader in a Rural County.
4. How to Stimulate the Development of Historical Pageantry.
5. How to Make Music a Larger Factor in the Rural Church.

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CHAPTER XXI

RURAL POLICIES AND PRINCIPLES OF BALANCE

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show the Need of Rural Life Policies.
2. What Fears Did President Roosevelt Have Concerning the Future of Rural Life In America?
3. What Have Been the Chief Values to Rural Communities That Have Developed from Our Education Policies?
4. What Social Values are Contained in Well-Devised State and National Land Settlement Policies?
5. What Would You Suggest As Measures for Improving Taxation Policies?
6. What Sort of Policies May a Rural Community Develop?
7. What Are the Main Factors Involved in the Development of State and National Rural Policies?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. A Socially Valuable Land Settlement Policy for Your State.
2. The Needed Movements Among Farmers for Initiating and Developing Rural Life Policies.
3. The Aid the Government May Give Farmers in Policy Formation and in Political Aid.
4. The Limitations of the Self-Help Plans for Solving Many Broad Problems of Policy for Farmers.
5. The National Importance of Stabilizing Agriculture.

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